

Living in a Finite Environment (LIFE)

Evaluation

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List of Acronyms

CACA	Caprivi Arts & Cultural Association
CARMS	Communal Area Resource Management Support
CASS	Centre for Applied Social Sciences
CBNRM	Community-Based Natural Resource Management
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CGG	Community Game Guards
CMP	Community Management Profile
CRM	Community Resource Monitors
DEA	Directorate of Environmental Affairs
DIFID	Division for International Development (ODA)
DOF	Directorate of Forestry
DRFN	Desert Research Foundation of Namibia
DRM	Directorate of Resource Management
EU	European Union
FENATA	Federation of Namibian Tourism Association
HRDU	Human Resource Development Unit
IDP	Institutional Development Profile
IRDNC	Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation
LAC	Legal Assistance Centre
LIFE	Living in a Finite Environment
MET	Ministry of Environment and Tourism
MSI	Management Systems International
NACOBTA	Namibia Community-Based Tourism Association
NGO	Non Government Organisation
NNF	Namibia Nature Foundation
NNFC	Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative
NRM	Natural Resources Management
PAC	Problem Animal Control
PTO	Permission To Occupy
RCSA	Regional Centre for Southern Africa
READ	Reaching Out with Education for Adults in Development
RF	Rossing Foundation
SCC	Salambala Conservancy Committee
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SSD	Social Science Division (of UNAM)
UNAM	University of Namibia
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
WL	World Learning
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The LIFE Programme, a joint programme between the governments of the United States and Namibia, World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and its management partners, and Namibian NGOs, was initiated in 1993 as part of the USAID regional Natural Resource Management Project under the Regional Center for Southern Africa (RCSA). Originally funded to 1997, the programme was extended until 1999 following a mid-term review and modification of the design. The level of USAID funding is \$15 million, with in-kind contributions from MET valued at \$3,910,000 and a match contribution from WWF valued at \$3 million.

LIFE provides support to a Namibian initiative to develop a national programme for Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM). The purpose of the LIFE programme is:

Communities derive increased benefits in an equitable manner by gaining control over and sustainably managing natural resources in target areas

The LIFE Programme has several objectives, including: support to the CBNRM policy framework; institution strengthening; increased ecological, social, and economic knowledge for management of communal resources; increased community awareness; development of community institutions for NRM; improved community skills in enterprise management linked to natural resources; developing and maintaining the resource base; and analysis and dissemination of experiences and lessons learned. These objectives and the achievements of the LIFE Programme are discussed in detail in Section 3.0.

USAID/Namibia is committed to continuing its support to the CBNRM Programme beyond 1999, and, following discussions with the MET, is considering expansion of support from the current target areas to the broader National CBNRM Programme through 2005. The purpose of this evaluation is to identify the achievements, strengths, weaknesses and lessons learned from the current LIFE Programme, so that the follow-on CBNRM sector assessment, concept paper and design (all to be done by the same team) can learn from the current effort, address the constraints, and build upon the strengths.

The Team has used an analogy that compares CBNRM to a three-legged stool standing on a legal and policy floor. The CBNRM approach can be considered to be the seat of the stool, providing the framework and structure for the integration of the three legs. CBNRM depends on a legal and policy base that insures that communities have tenure or clear, long-term control and access rights over their resources. The three legs of the stool are (1) a representative, capable, community-based organization, (2) a sustainable natural resources management system for the community's resources that (3) generate revenues and other benefits from natural resources in a fashion that provides incentives for sustainable management and that covers management costs and provides benefits for the community as a whole.

Design strengths included the fact that the programme was designed to support a well-conceived Namibian initiative in a flexible, process-oriented approach supported by an in-house grants making capability. Design Weaknesses included the assumptions that the Department of Resource Management (DRM) in the MET would become actively involved in supporting CBNRM and, secondly, that there were a number of qualified and/or motivated NGOs that could be supported to work in developing CBNRM in the target areas. At the time of the evaluation, the DRM had not become actively engaged in the National CBNRM Programme and the number of Namibian NGOs involved was very low.

Programme implementation has been strongly conditioned by passage of the enabling legislation that created the policy floor for the CBNRM stool. This legislation was not passed until 1996. It allows communities to organize themselves into legal bodies called conservancies. It is probably the most progressive legislation of its type in southern Africa. Even so, it does not grant rights to natural resources in general, but rather rights over game resources. Prior to 1996, Programme support of CBOs development was limited. Natural resources management activities consisted mostly of the establishment of community game guard-programmes, anti-poaching, problem animal control and data gathering. Revenue generation focused on the development of natural resources-based crafts and other enterprises that did not require collective management of natural resources.

After passage of the legislation, LIFE has added a major focus on the support for conservancy management committee institutional development and for assistance in the process of becoming registered as conservancies. This is a critical institutional building process that cannot be rushed too quickly. The first conservancy was registered in January 1998, three others should be registered in the near future and 14 more are in various stages of development. It is only now that CBNRM development is reaching its most interesting and challenging stage of development with legally-empowered CBOs in a position to really begin developing and exercising their natural resources management and business management skills. LIFE is actively working with the more advanced conservancies to develop these capacities. Recent developments provide strong indications of a significant sense of empowerment on the part of emerging conservancies.

Achievements by objective are summarized as follows:

- LIFE support for policy and legislative reforms have been highly successful. Staff limitations in MET/DEA have been a constraint to even greater achievements in the policy arena.
- LIFE has resulted in very significant increases in Namibian NGO capacity to support CBNRM development, but capacity has been built over a rather narrow range of NGOs. Institutional capacity building in MET has been much more limited.
- The knowledge base for management of natural resources in target areas has improved, particularly regarding economic and social data, and less so ecological and marketing information. As conservancies now begin to develop management

plans, the linkage between information gathered and information needed for management will need to be made more explicit.

- LIFE partners are effectively disseminating information regarding the conservancy concept and its legal framework. They have been less effective in disseminating information from surveys, trends, inventories and applied research.
- LIFE has been successful in facilitating the mobilization of communities through the process of qualifying for registration as legally recognized bodies. The development of the capacity of these bodies to manage communal resources is still in its early stages of development.
- LIFE has been quite successful in promoting natural resource-based enterprise development by local craftsmen and user groups. Anti-poaching and problem animal control through community game guards has been very successful in some areas. Community/conservancy level NRM and enterprise/business management are in their very early stages because the first conservancies are only now being registered.
- Successful anti-poaching has led to significant recovery of game population in some areas, although systems to quantify the recovery are not in place. Infrastructure development to improve the resource base is just beginning. Habitat management should begin.
- With the exception of progress in natural resources economics, written analysis and documentation of the dynamics and of lessons learned from the Namibian experience in CBNRM development has been somewhat limited.

Overall progress towards the USAID Strategic Objective, towards the LIFE programme purpose and towards the National CBNRM programme objectives has been very good.

LIFE Programme management has diplomatically and effectively coordinated, and balanced, the diverse interests of the Steering Committee, USAID, and MET. Implementation has been flexible, while not losing sight of the ultimate purpose of the programme. Workplans, budgets, and reports are comprehensive and delivered on time. At times, however, the programme could be more strategic in its planning and better managed for results.

The principal successes/impacts of the LIFE Programme have been:

- Establishment of a sound policy/legal base for community control and management of game resources;
- Very promising institutional development of community-based organizations/conservancy management committees;
- Clear indicators of a growing sense of empowerment of local communities over their resources and over their ability to influence government decision-making;
- Significant growth in natural resource based enterprises, employment and revenue generation, especially in community-based tourism.

Numerous recommendations were made for the remaining 16 month of the LIFE Programme. They focus on the following areas:

- Immediate and close attention to the wording/content of the Communal Lands Bill to assure that it allows for legal means for Conservancies and communities to gain increased control over natural resources;
- Prepare a series of end-of-project analytical papers on the principal areas of LIFE investment with the objective of capturing lessons learned;
- Increased attention to the transfer of LIFE Programme function to Namibian institutions as deemed possible and appropriate;
- Support, as requested, to restructuring of MET functions for CBNRM service delivery and for development of a Human Resources Development Unit;
- Increased focus on development of capacity for NRM and business management skills for those conservancies who have completed registration;
- Increased use of facilitators from established conservancies to assist other communities develop CBNRM capacity;
- Expand the membership of the National CBNRM Collaborative Group to facilitate technical and geographic expansion of the National Program; and
- Closely monitor the decentralization process and seek to influence it in favor of CBNRM development.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The LIFE Programme, a joint programme between the governments of the United States and Namibia, World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and its management partners, and Namibian non-governmental organizations (NGOs), was initiated in 1993 as part of the USAID regional Natural Resource Management Project under the Regional Center for Southern Africa (RCSA). Originally funded to August 1, 1997, the programme was extended until August 18, 1999 following a mid-term review and modification of the design. The level of USAID funding is \$15 million, with in-kind contributions from MET valued at \$3,910,000 and a match contribution from WWF valued at \$3 million.

The programme is managed through a Cooperative Agreement with WWF, which holds sub-agreements with Rossing Foundation (RF), a Namibian NGO, World Learning (WL), and Management Systems International (MSI). The LIFE Team is responsible to a Steering Committee, including the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET), SSD, LAC, CBOs, implementing NGOs, and USAID. The Programme works in three target areas, Caprivi, Eastern Tsumkwe District (Nyae Nyae) and Uukwaluudhi, as well as providing support to a number of national level institutions.

The overall approach of the LIFE Programme is to support Namibian organizations to facilitate local institutional development for common property resource management, primarily but not exclusively of wildlife and tourism resources. The underlying philosophy of the programme is that when communities have the rights, responsibilities, and institutional capacity for resource management, as well as economic incentives, they will manage the resources sustainably. The LIFE Programme provides training, technical assistance, and grants to Namibian organizations. Following the mid-term review, LIFE also assumed an implementation role in areas where NGOs were not active. Specific implementation strategies of this approach are discussed in Section 2.0 below.

1.2 Goal, Purpose and Objectives of the LIFE Programme

The goal of the LIFE programme is:

Improved quality of life for rural Namibians through sustainable natural resource management

The purpose of the programme is:

Communities derive increased benefits in an equitable manner by gaining control over and sustainably managing natural resources in target areas

The LIFE Programme has several objectives, including: support to the CBNRM policy framework; institution strengthening; increased ecological, social, and economic knowledge for management of communal resources; increased community awareness; development of community institutions for NRM; improved community skills in

enterprise management linked to natural resources; developing and maintaining the resource base; and analysis and dissemination of experiences and lessons learned. These objectives and the achievements of the LIFE Programme are discussed in detail in Section 3.0.

Purpose and Methodology of the Evaluation

USAID/Namibia's support to the social and economic upliftment of Namibia's poorest rural communities is reflected in strategic objective (SO) #3, "increased benefits to historically disadvantaged Namibians from sustainable local management of natural resources." Through 1999, the LIFE Programme is the principle results package (RP) under this objective. USAID/Namibia is committed to continuing its support to the Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) Programme beyond 1999, and, following discussions with the MET, is considering expansion of support from the current target areas to the broader National CBNRM Programme through 2005.

The purpose of this evaluation is to identify the achievements, strengths, weaknesses and lessons learned from the current LIFE Programme, so that the follow-on design can learn from the current effort, address the constraints, and build upon the strengths. The Evaluation Team includes two independent consultants with expertise in common property management regimes, natural resource management (Roy Hagen), and community institutions and processes (Barbara Wyckoff-Baird). In addition, the Technical Advisor to the SADC Natural Resource Management Programme (Steve Johnson) and the USAID/Washington Tropical Forestry and Biodiversity Advisor (Tim Resch) joined the team for the field work.

The evaluation was three weeks long, including review of project documents (see Appendix 1: List of Documents consulted), interviews with stakeholders in Windhoek, Caprivi, and Nyae Nyae (see Appendix 2: List of Contacts), and site visits. Preliminary results were presented at a half-day workshop attended by over 20 of the stakeholders in the LIFE Programme. The workshop provided an opportunity for the team to verify results and gain additional insights. These were then incorporated into a final evaluation report delivered to USAID/Namibia.

2.0 EVALUATION OF PROJECT DESIGN AND OF IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES

2.1 The Strategic Elements for Successful CBNRM

The Evaluation Team has evaluated the LIFE Program design and the LIFE implementation strategies against the current thinking on what are considered to be the strategic elements that are necessary for community-based natural resources management (CBNRM) to succeed. The Team has used an analogy that compares CBNRM to a three-legged stool standing on a legal and policy floor. The CBNRM approach can be considered to be the seat of the stool, providing the framework and structure for the integration of the three legs.

The legal and policy floor: Successful CBNRM depends on a legal and policy base which insures communities have tenure or clear, long-term control and access rights over their resources. Communities must be secure in the knowledge they will benefit in the future from investments in the resource base they make today or from reduced off-take today to increase off-takes in the future. The three legs of the stool that support CBNRM are the following:

- **Community institutional capacity:** The community-based organization (CBO) or Conservancy Management Committee must be representative of the community members, must assure the sustainable management of the natural resources of the community and must assure that benefits derived from the use of the community's resources are used or distributed in an equitable manner. The CBO must manage the natural resources of the community as a business. This requires the development of both business management skills and technical natural resources management capabilities of the CBO. A monitoring system is necessary to ensure the CBO continues to be representative of the community, benefits are distributed equitably, and that economic benefits are linked to more sustainable NRM practices.
- **Sustainable Natural Resources Management (NRM):** The development of sustainable NRM requires the development of an information base on the resources, the existence or the development of sound management techniques, the preparation of a management plan and the development of an M&E system that feeds back information on the resource base to the managers so that they can adjust management to insure sustainable use.
- **Generation of Benefits** The management of the community's natural resources must generate benefits in such a way that they serve as incentives for sustainable management. Revenues generated must cover management costs and provide significant benefits.

Any programme seeking to promote sustainable CBNRM must insure that all three legs of the stool are adequately developed. This requires adequate human resources and organizations with the capacity to provide support to communities in these three very different areas. Support for the development of each leg of the stool requires different types of skills. The questions of optimal sequencing and integration of the development of the three legs are questions of the overall CBNRM approach or methodology -- the seat that holds the three legs together. CBNRM approaches and methodologies are evolving and must be adapted to local conditions.

2.2 Design Strengths and Weaknesses

2.2.1 Design Strengths

Development of the legal base for CBNRM: At the time of the project design, there was no legal basis for people in communal areas of Namibia to control, manage and benefit from their natural resources. There was no floor for the stool. A small group of committed people in the Directorate of Environmental Affairs (DEA) in the predecessor of the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) had developed a draft

policy to grant communities such rights over their wildlife resources on communal lands.

The LIFE Program was designed to provide some support for the development of this draft into policy and law. The main thrust of LIFE design, however, was to provide indirect and direct support for CBNRM development in the three target areas. The whole success of the project was contingent upon passage of this legislation by the GRN. In the opinion of the Evaluation Team, this has clearly been a risk worth taking. The Amendment to the Nature Conservation Ordinance of 1975 allowing for the development of conservancies was finally passed by the Namibian Parliament in 1996. It is one of the most enlightened examples of CBNRM legislation in all of Africa.

Flexibility: One of the great strengths of the LIFE design is the flexibility it allowed to support the process of CBNRM development in Namibia. Implementation strategies clearly had to be adjusted by the LIFE Program Team as a function of the passage of appropriate legislation and the design allowed this to be done. The LIFE grants making role added to the flexibility of the programme.

2.2.2 Design Weaknesses

Shortage of carpenters to build the stool: One of the principal weaknesses of the LIFE design was the assumption that there was a ready supply of qualified and/or motivated NGOs and government agencies that could be supported to provide the services needed to build the three legs of the stool in support of CBNRM. Under the original LIFE design, the support to communities for CBNRM development was to be done exclusively through MET and existing NGOs. Both the original design and the re-design assumed that the Directorate of Resource Management (DRM) in the MET would become an active player in providing extension services to communities in support of CBNRM in the target areas. The DRM has not yet restructured itself to do this and only a few individual agents have been actively involved.

The LIFE design assumed that there was an adequate number of qualified and motivated NGOs that would provide support to communities for building the three legs of the stool. It assumed that the two NGOs already working in the target areas would expand or develop CBNRM programs through LIFE grants, and that other NGOs, including development NGOs and NGOs lead by historically disadvantaged Namibians, would become interested in expanding into the target areas through LIFE grants.

This has not come to pass. The LIFE programme has not succeeded in engaging any of the existing NGOs not already working in the target areas to become active players, although some efforts have been made to stimulate their involvement. Of the two NGOs already active in the target areas at the time of the design, only one of them, IRDNC, is still playing an active role. Indeed, IRDNC plays the predominant role in CBNRM development in the field, both in LIFE target areas and elsewhere in Namibia.

The inability to attract NGOs with specialized skills in enterprise development and CBO capacity building has put tremendous demands on IRDNC to develop their own in-

house capacities in these two areas. IRDNC has been a pioneer in early CBNRM development in Namibia (and even in southern Africa). However, at the time of project design, their principal institutional strengths were in support of community game guard programmes geared towards anti-poaching, problem animal control and information gathering. It is a great tribute to this NGO that they have been able to develop, and are continuing to develop, significant capacity to support CBO institutional development and enterprise development.

The re-design made allowance for LIFE program staff to intervene directly in support of communities and this has been done very successfully, but poses a problem for the sustainability of CBNRM support beyond the present LIFE Programme. Namibian NGO and LIFE partner, The Rossing Foundation, has also become active in enterprise development and in training in the target areas. The new NGO, Namibian Community-Based Tourism Association (NACOBTA), is starting to provide services for community-based tourism development in the target areas. Overall, however, the number and range of NGOs actively engaged in supporting CBNRM development in the target areas is significantly less than envisaged in the design.

2.3. Appropriateness of Implementation Strategies

As the LIFE design allowed for a great deal of flexibility on strategies for implementation, it is important to evaluate how the appropriateness of the actual strategies developed. The major distinction made by the Evaluation Team is between the period prior to passage of the Amendment Act in 1996 and the period since its passage. The Amendment Act established the legal basis for communities to control, manage and benefit from the wildlife (wild animals) resources on "their" lands, i.e., it built the floor on which the CBNRM stool could sit.

2.3.1 Implementation Prior to Conservancy Legislation

While supporting the DEA-led efforts to promote adoption of suitable policies and legislation, the project began working with communities in the target areas on development of the legs of the CBNRM stool. Strategies employed for each of the three areas were the following:

- **CBO development:** The programme did little during this period to promote the establishment of formal conservancy committees. The Evaluation Team feels this was appropriate, as it would have been very risky to raise expectations too high based on future passage of proposed legislation. Furthermore, the legislation itself defines the formal steps that communities must go through to form a legally-recognized CBO that will be empowered to manage their resources. The LIFE Programme did, however, respond to requests from the West Caprivi Committee and the Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative (NNFC) for technical assistance and training, as a means of laying a foundation for the future.
- **NRM** The main activity undertaken by the project during this time that impacted upon the natural resource base itself was the establishment of community game guards (CGGs) in several areas. The need for these CGGs and the focus of their

efforts has varied considerably from one area to another. Although they have no direct enforcement powers, in West Caprivi, the CGGs have been very effective in diminishing poaching. Poaching was out of control in this area and animal populations are now recovering. In western East Caprivi, the focus has been on problem animal control, a major NRM issue for the people there. CGG have since been empowered by the MET to eliminate problem lions preying on livestock. In such cases, the CGG have given communities a sense of empowerment over a resource from which they had been alienated by previous governments. These were appropriate activities that were possible without legislation, which served the interests of both the State and local people and which formed a basis for more substantial progress later.

In Nyae Nyae, the role of the community rangers has primarily been communication. Early attempts at using the game guards for systematically gathering information on wildlife were also made, although with less success than in Caprivi.

- **Revenue generation:** During this time, the project made considerable efforts to develop natural resource-based crafts, campsites, and enterprises that did not require the type of collective commitment or NRM that could only be possible under the pending legislation. Harvest of thatching grass, basket making from palm fronds, wood-carvings, and community-based tourism enterprises were three of the principal money-makers (see Appendix 3). These enterprises were based on natural resources rather than on natural resources management. The need for monitoring the sustainability of resource use was emphasized and some efforts to regenerate palms were begun. The Evaluation Team considers these types of revenue generation targeting artisans and user groups rather than whole communities to have been especially appropriate for this period and laid a basis for future development of CBNRM. It is worthy of note that little of this revenue generation was directly dependent on wildlife.

Overall, the field implementation strategies prior to passage of the Amendment Act of 1996 were very appropriate and laid a good base on which to develop community-based NRM.

2.3.2 Post-Conservancy Legislation Implementation Strategies

The conservancy legislation defines the conditions under which people in communal areas may qualify for rights and management of their wildlife resources. The legislation requires communities that wish to form conservancies to undertake the following steps before submitting a formal application of official registration as a conservancy:

- creation of a CBO called a conservancy committee that is representative of community members;
- development of a constitution, including a wildlife management strategy;
- defined physical boundaries;
- the ability to manage funds; and
- a plan for equitable sharing of benefits.

Upon registration, the conservancy committee becomes a legal entity that can enter into contracts and manage/harvest the conservancy's wildlife in line with quotas and conditions defined by the MET.

Support for CBO development: Following passage of the conservancy legislation, the project seems to have quickly added a focus in the field of assisting with CBO institutional development, the leg of the stool that had previously received limited attention. Although all of the issues raised by the steps required for application for conservancy status must be decided by the communities themselves, most of the people involved had very little experience dealing with such questions. IRDNC and LIFE Program staff are spending a great deal of time informing, coordinating and generally facilitating the process.

What the Evaluation Team found in the field was a dynamic, situation-specific process advancing unevenly from one site to another. Communities are dealing openly with questions of representation and equity -- two questions also essential to democratization. They are defining the roles of traditional authorities and local politicians in the process. Politicians are sometimes helping, sometimes hindering conservancy development. Land boundaries with adjoining communities are being debated and clarified. The possibility of controlling part of their own resources has clearly sparked a strong interest and raised the hopes of many people.

One conservancy at Nyae Nyae has received formal approval and three more are on the Minister's desk awaiting approval. A total of 18 conservancies are at various stages of development, nine of them with direct support from the LIFE Program. These 18 conservancies already cover the larger part of the wildlife-rich communal lands.

NRM: Passage of the conservancy legislation has created the legal basis for communities to manage their wildlife resources, although quotas and conditions are still set by the government. The Act also provides a general basis for controlling tourism development. LIFE support to evolving conservancies for natural resources management planning has generally paralleled the level of development of the conservancy committees. The Evaluation Team considers this to have been very appropriate. NRM planning is the most advanced in the two of the three developing conservancies where the LIFE Programme team has had the most direct involvement, i.e., at Nyae Nyae and Salambala. Planned activities include game water point development, relocation of wildlife, game harvesting, fencing and campground development.

Revenue generation: The conservancy legislation has also made it possible for conservancy committees to enter into legally binding contracts with professional hunters and tourism operators for use of conservancy wildlife and scenic resources. LIFE assisted the Nyae Nyae Conservancy, the only registered conservancy to date, to negotiate a two-year concession for trophy hunting. The contract was signed during the evaluation. A similar contract with a tourism operator negotiated by Salambala proved premature. The private operator finally pulled out following delays in the conservancy registration process and his inability to raise the necessary capital.

2.3.3 Conclusion

The Evaluation Team finds that the overall implementation strategies developed by the LIFE Programme Team have been well thought out and have evolved in a logical sequence as the enabling conditions for CBNRM have been put into place. The implementation strategies presented here have made no mention of the details of the complex of support activities involving training, grants management, monitoring and evaluation and many others. These are covered in the following section.

3.0 AN ASSESSMENT OF ACTIVITIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

It is almost impossible to document every activity and achievement of the LIFE Programme. The programme is complex, multi-disciplinary, and involves hundreds of people working at different levels. In spite of this, the programme is amazingly coherent and well coordinated. The stakeholders share a vision and complementary objectives, as well as ownership. They are deeply committed to the people of Namibia, and the natural resources on which they depend. While there will always be areas for improvement, the LIFE Programme must be commended for its high standard of excellence and dedication. Significant activities and achievements are detailed below.

3.1 Objective #1: Improved capacity of Namibian organizations to establish legal, regulatory, and policy framework, supportive of CBNRM

The Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) is responsible for providing the policy and legislative framework within which CBNRM activities take place. As requested, the LIFE Programme provides periodic and strategic support to the MET, particularly in policy analysis and outreach activities. Funds are being provided to the DEA to support the development and implementation of a public relations campaign, successfully putting CBNRM on the front page of local and international newspapers and across the airways. Several hundred "Toolboxes" for Conservancy Development were produced and distributed. In addition, the LIFE team produced a video on CBNRM which was shown on prime-time television, both in Namibia and South Africa. The University Of Namibia (UNAM) and the Legal Assistance Centre (LAC) have undertaken policy reviews and studies, including a review of the Nature Conservation Ordinance of 1975 (LAC, 1994), "Legislation and Policy Affecting Community-Based Natural Resource Management in Namibia (UNAM:SSD, 1996), and a baseline study of existing customary law relating to resource management plans (UNAM:CASS, 1997). The LIFE Programme has also supported numerous fora for information dissemination and debate, including the workshop for regional authorities on conservancy development, a CBNRM briefing to the full Parliamentary Committee on Land and Natural Resources, and the Parks and Neighbors Policy Review Workshop.

Efforts of the LIFE partners have also supported land reform, primarily through the NANGOF/NGO working committee. The lack of secure and exclusive group or individual tenure over communal land is a major dis-incentive for sustainable management. LIFE provided support to the People's Land Conference in 1995, the Consultative Workshop on Land Tenure, and the Communal Land Act Review Seminar,

both in 1996. The latest draft National Land Policy White Paper (September, 1997) includes "legally constituted bodies and institutions to exercise joint ownership rights" as a category of land rights holder, thereby allowing conservancies and other group tenure regimes to apply for leasehold land rights in communal areas.

During the design phase of the LIFE Programme, the MET identified a need for skills in natural resource economics and LIFE has supported a technical advisor since 1993. This position was to be absorbed by the MET, which has not occurred. The lack of MET commitment to provide this post threatens the sustainability of this initiative. Additional donor support has been used to employ a number of interns, who have received training from the advisor, and to establish a natural resources accounting project (USAID funded the initial phase). The natural resource economics programme has produced numerous reports, several of which have been distributed in the region. Findings from the programme have been used to successfully justify an increase in the recurrent and development budgets of the MET, an increase in park fees based on the tourism demand study, and application of land values studies to policy and planning, including the allocation of land between wildlife and livestock. At the field level, both in and out of the target areas, the economics programme has provided technical assistance to communities on contract negotiations and assessing the value of their natural resources. While these achievements are significant, the evaluation team feels that more focus could be placed on the dissemination of results, specifically in a form appropriate to policy makers and the general public. There is a need to build greater awareness about the value and contribution of wildlife and tourism to the national economy.

The MET, with support from the LIFE Programme, has successfully created an enabling policy environment for CBNRM, going further than any other in southern Africa in giving rights over wildlife and tourism directly to local communities. The Wildlife, Management, Utilization and Tourism in Communal Areas Policy was passed by the Namibian Parliament in March, 1995, followed by the Nature Conservation Amendment Act of 1996. Regulations for the establishment of conservancies were approved in January 1997. The MET is now confronted with the issue of reconciling pre-existing tourism and safari hunting rights with the emergence of conservancies.

The LIFE programme has also influenced the development of the MET policy on the Promotion of Community Based Tourism, approved in 1995, through supporting a Community-Based Tourism Officer in the Ministry. The draft Tourism Act, providing for conservancies to be given concessionary rights over tourism activities, has yet to be introduced in Parliament. The Parks and Neighbors Policy, providing for joint management and sharing resources and benefits with neighbors and residents in parks, has been developed and debated within the MET. This policy is critical to the economic viability of many of the conservancies in Caprivi. IRDNC and LIFE staff have contributed to the North-East Parks Management Project of the MET to ensure that appropriate measures are taken at this level to link the parks and emerging conservancies.

Perhaps the most significant constraint has been the lack of leadership and staff resources which has limited the MET's ability to adequately address other relevant policies affecting CBNRM, including the Tourism Act, forestry policy and legislation, and range management. The evaluation team recommends that the MET continue to address these issues, as well as land reform, as a priority. This will require leadership from the highest levels in the MET and concerted effort from the DEA and other directorates. Clarity on the legal implications of existing leases, concessions and rights in emerging conservancies is also needed.

Recommendation #1: The MET should continue to focus on policy reform, including relevant policies of the MET and other ministries (i.e. range management, land rights, forestry, tourism). The Permanent Secretary and Minister should be involved as appropriate. Immediate attention should be paid to the Communal Lands Bill. Special attention should be paid to the "Parks and Neighbors" policy, as the economic viability of many of the conservancies in East Caprivi is dependent on the parks, and to the Tourism Act, which will entrench the rights of conservancies to tourism concessions.

Recommendation #2: The Team suggests that the DEA Advisor for public relations conduct an internal review of the effectiveness and use of the "Toolboxes for Conservancy Development". It is recognized that there are many requests from the field, but the actual use of the toolbox, as well as its strengths and weaknesses, has not yet been assessed.

Recommendation #3: The MET/DEA should develop materials for policy-makers and the general public that highlight findings from the resource economics programme. These documents should stress the contribution and importance of wildlife and tourism to the national economy, among other points.

3.2 Objective #2: Improved capacity of Namibian organizations to sustainably assist communities in the establishment of sustainable CBNRM enterprises and management systems.

Based on the project assessment or re-design in 1994-1995, the institution building component has focussed on three NGOs (IRDNC, NACOBTA, NNF), three CBOs (Salambala Conservancy Committee, NNFC, CACA), the University of Namibia (UNAM), and the MET. With the exception of UNAM, institutional assessments were conducted by all organizations through the Institutional Development Profile (IDP)/Community Management Profile (CMP) process, a Project Monitoring Visit (PMV), or, in the case of IRDNC, through a workshop. All of these organizations have used programme funds to hire additional staff and to increase their operating infrastructure (i.e. vehicles, office construction). They have received training and technical assistance in organizational and administrative matters, and in community organization and facilitation, as relevant. Technical assistance has also been provided in project design and proposal writing.

On the whole, training, when combined with other LIFE Programme inputs, has resulted in new knowledge, skills and attitudes among many participants. While there are

individual exceptions, perhaps the least impact has been among MET/DRM staff. This may be due to the training methods used, the lack of clear institutional mandate for CBNRM, and/or the lack of motivation among these participants. Training has been most successful when it has been designed in close collaboration with the intended beneficiaries, responded to needs identified by the participants themselves, provided follow-up, and in cases where the receiving organization has provided support for the integration of newly acquired skills into on-going responsibilities. Training needs have been assessed informally by the organizations themselves and could benefit from a more systematic approach. A comprehensive training needs analysis was conducted in 1994 for the MET/DRM that has not been acted upon.

The only way to really assess whether LIFE has been successful at building institutions is to assess the capabilities and performance of the organizations it has sought to support, including a measure of the quantity and quality of the services it delivers. Even then, it is difficult to determine whether institutional change is the result of LIFE interventions. Given the guidance of the SOW to focus at the programme or "big picture" level and the limited time available, the Evaluation team did not conduct a detailed analysis of individual grants. Thus, any comments on the effectiveness of LIFE's institution building approach and changes within the organizations are based on the Team's impressions and, among some Team members, a historical perspective.

Significant institutional change has occurred within IRDNC, which has shifted from a project implementation to a support NGO, and has registered as a trust. Staff with the appropriate skills have been hired, roles clarified, and staff skills and responsibilities aligned. Staff from the local communities are moving into assistant manager positions. Organizational policies and employee contracts are being developed. Quarterly planning meetings occur regularly, although more focus could be placed on annual internal reviews to assess progress with respect to objectives and to modify activities. As part of this "adaptive management" process, IRDNC should develop clear performance targets and indicators.

Based on anecdotal information, it appears to the Evaluation Team that IRDNC's institutional performance and service delivery has become more effective as LIFE has evolved. Revenue generated by the crafts component and campsite has increased significantly. Five conservancy committees are in place and are aware of issues of representation and accountability, with assistance being provided to an additional two groups. Processes are now in place to collect social data necessary for conservancy development and to ensure community members have access to information. Community Resource Monitors (CRMs) are being trained and most have a clear understanding of their roles. Community Game Guards (CGG) in West Caprivi have confiscated over 140 illegal weapons and the incidence of poaching is down from previous levels. They are also collecting and disseminating data regarding the presence of wildlife to traditional authorities. In East Caprivi, CGGs are involved in problem animal control. Conservancy committees are preparing basic proposals for funding from IRDNC and are receiving and managing small amounts of funds.

There are certainly areas that require additional skills development, particularly in facilitation, but on the whole IRDNC is institutionally stronger and performing more effectively than prior to the onset of the LIFE programme. Given the staff resources on board, it is anticipated that performance will continue to improve.

Change and development within NNF, UNAM and NACOBTA are less clear. NNF, relatively weak five years ago, continues to operate and is managing over 55 grants. The LIFE Programme provided essential assistance in developing a cost-recovery system so that management expenses are covered. In spite of its name NNF, has no staff with a background in environments conservation or natural resources. UNAM, specifically the Social Sciences Division (SSD), has demonstrated little increase in organizational capacity or interest in CBNRM as the result of the grant from the LIFE Programme. Outside of the grant, an individual was identified and trained by the LIFE team and he remains in SSD. He is knowledgeable and interested in CBNRM and effective at his work.

NACOBTA, created in 1995 by a group of people active in community-based tourism and the LIFE Programme, demonstrates many of the challenges in supporting a new NGOs. The LIFE Programme provided: start-up funding for a manager, establishment of an office, and support of limited activities; assisted with advertising and filling positions; and provided training in meeting USAID reporting and procurement requirements. Some assistance was also provided in assessing organizational needs through the Institutional Development Profile (IDP) and an initial planning exercise. LIFE has also been helpful in providing links to other donors and NGOs, with the result that funds have been secured from SIDA and soon the EU.

NACOBTA has developed and maintained links with the private sector through FENATA (the Federation of Namibian Tourism Associations), the MET, through the community tourism officer, and with other NGOs. Thirty participants were sent for training conducted by OXFAM, although the course was found to be too theoretical and not focussed on business management skills. In 1997, NACOBTA employed a business advisor and training specialist, both expatriates. They have developed a training strategy and undertaken an inventory of community-based tourism enterprises. However, two years after its creation, NACOBTA has provided few services to member organizations, although, with the inputs of technically qualified staff, it appears ready to do so now, especially in training.

When asked what advice staff would give LIFE regarding support to an emerging NGO, the manager responded that it is necessary to have more staff at the start-up who are technically qualified to deliver services. When NACOBTA was started, there was already a high demand for services, hence why it was initiated, and NACOBTA was unable to respond. This proved to be frustrating for everyone involved and NACOBTA was unable to build credibility. In addition to a shortage of technically qualified staff, NACOBTA found it difficult to undertake strategic planning, set organizational priorities, and establish systems for measuring performance. The LIFE Programme did not respond to these organizational development needs effectively. At the same time, the

close affiliation with LIFE proved to be a liability as NGOs were reluctant to work closely with an organization they saw as donor-created and driven.

Extensive support was also provided directly to the Caprivi Arts and Cultural Association (CACA). It is clear that the organization, and the craft producers it serves, are, on the whole, better off today after the grant than before it. Production quality and quantity has improved, sales are up, membership has increased, and more effective administrative systems are in place. During the early phases of the grant, the LIFE team provided technical assistance. While assistance in institutional strengthening was good, it became clear that the LIFE team's lack of skills specifically in crafts was a weakness. Similarly, the accounting system developed by LIFE was ultimately appropriate for reporting to USAID, but was never useful as a system for managing a business. In response, Rossing Foundation, with expertise in the craft sector, was awarded a grant for support of craft enterprises in LIFE target areas.

The NACOBTA Management Board is comprised of member organizations, primarily community activists responding to tourism opportunities in their areas. While the Board has knowledge of community dynamics, it lacks an understanding of markets, the broader technical field, and business management. It appears that the NACOBTA Board has been ineffective at setting organizational policy and priorities. CACA, facing the same situation, reorganized their Management Committee into an Artists Council acting as a communication mechanism, rather than providing significant direction to the organization. It may be necessary to pursue a similar strategy with the NACOBTA Board of Management, organizing current members to function as a communication mechanism and identifying skilled individuals with business management, training, and tourism knowledge to act as a Board and provide guidance and set policy and priorities.

The LIFE team has provided extensive support, including funds, training and technical assistance to the Salambala Conservancy Committee (SCC) and the Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative (NNFC). Both organizations have received assistance in developing representative and accountable committees, facilitating meetings, and in natural resource planning. Based on impressions from the brief time spent with these organizations, the evaluation team found that there was a strong sense of ownership over the conservancy process, a general understanding of natural resource planning, and that the capacity of these organizations had increased.

In Nyae Nyae, villagers reported that NNFC Board members visit them regularly for consultation and feedback. The NNFC Manager and Senior Field Officer (CBNRM) made the observation that at the June 1997 Annual General Meeting, community participation was more active and familiarity with the issues was greater than in previous years. Communication and cooperation with MET has increased through the Wildlife Management Committee, although improvement is still needed. However, it seems that a significant amount of management is still done by outsiders. Thus, rather than expanding into even more activities, it may be time to consolidate the existing activities and for these organizations to be encouraged to assume more direct management.

Both the SCC and NNFC expressed concern over the accounting system, finding it too complicated. A representative of the SCC said that they felt they were treated like an NGO, with a complex understanding of financial matters, rather than as a CBO. While it is important that conservancy committees receive and manage funds directly, the systems required by USAID may make small grants to CBOs untenable.

A few community-level conservancy facilitators are emerging from the more developed conservancies and these individuals are beginning to be used effectively by partner NGOs to assist in the conservancy development process. The Evaluation Team believes this is a very positive development and recommends that these facilitators be fully supported with training, networking, and consistent follow-up.

LIFE partners have made several efforts to collaborate with development NGOs on CBNRM issues. Perhaps the most successful has been MET/DEA's collaboration with the NGO Committee on Land Reform. Development NGOs have also been engaged, with varying results, to provide training in enterprise development and participatory rural appraisal (N!ARA, RISE). On the whole, however, efforts of the LIFE Programme to involve development NGOs more fully in CBNRM issues have not been successful. The reasons for this are varied.

Historically, there has been a false dichotomy between "conservation", seen as preservation and non-use, and "development", viewed as use of the resources for maximum economic growth. CBNRM seeks to reconcile these objectives and promote development for current generations while safeguarding the natural capital for future ones. This understanding of CBNRM is only now emerging among the development NGOs.

CBNRM has also evolved in Namibia to include empowerment as one of the three objectives of the National Programme. The other objectives include sustainable natural resource management and rural development. With passage of the legislation in 1996, and more importantly the White Paper on Land Policy (September 1997), it is becoming clear to development NGOs that conservancies are a means of gaining rights over some resources and laying the institutional framework for petitioning for additional rights. As both CBNRM and development thinking have evolved, both parties are seeing their objectives as more congruent, rather than mutually exclusive. It is now time for LIFE partners to inform other NGOs about conservancies and to explore the linkages between CBNRM and development.

LIFE Programme support for capacity building in the MET has varied between directorates. The DEA, for example, has requested and received extensive support as described elsewhere. The Directorate of Tourism has also received support, with LIFE supporting a full-time Community-Based Tourism Officer. As this post has never been absorbed by the MET, it is unlikely much capacity has been built. The DRM has received less support, primarily training. However, given limitations of time, resources, skills, and leadership, combined with a low level of interest in CBNRM, training has not resulted in increased skills or changed behavior. Basic attitudes must shift from those

supporting law-enforcement to those necessary for CBNRM. Shifting attitudes is not easy and takes time, but is a necessary step before training can be effective.

The LIFE Programme should get more directly involved in supporting the DRM, specifically the newly proposed Community Wildlife Management Division. LIFE could, for example, provide a full-time advisor to the Division, if requested. To build a sense of the possible and confidence in local communities, the LIFE team should continue to support networking trips by DRM staff to conservancies that are effectively managing resources. Through support to the Human Resources Development Unit (HRDU), LIFE should support changes in job descriptions and training linked to career achievement.

Recommendation #4: LIFE training activities should be developed and implemented in collaboration with Namibian training institutions. The LIFE team could provide insights into content as necessary. To facilitate this collaboration, and in light of the grant for CBNRM training just received by Rossing Foundation, the Evaluation Team recommends that consideration be given to moving the LIFE TA/CBNRM Advisor into the Rossing Foundation CBNRM unit. The training provided by LIFE should be designed in closer collaboration with the intended beneficiaries. Other opportunities for integrating LIFE staff into Namibian institutions during the remaining time of the project as judged appropriate.

Recommendation #5: Grantees should be supported to develop and adopt appropriate, annual internal reviews to assess progress with respect to objectives and to modify activities. As part of this "adaptive management" process, grantees should undertake a one-day strategic planning exercise and develop clear performance targets and indicators. Partners supporting individual conservancies in the field should consider measuring their impact by progressive changes and performance at this level. In addition, the IDP, while providing a useful tool for self-assessment of many critical inputs to institutional development, does not provide a measure of the quantity or quality of the services delivered relative to the inputs used. This should be adjusted accordingly.

Recommendation #6: The LIFE programme should make a focused effort to inform and interest NANGOF, NGOs and other potential stakeholders of the conservancy concept and the linkages between CBNRM and development. By better understanding these linkages and congruence of development and CBNRM objectives, NGOs may become more involved in the conservancy effort, bringing much needed skills. LIFE partners should also engage field-level staff from relevant ministries in CBNRM fora. This should be done without awarding new agents.

Recommendation #7: The LIFE team should establish a much closer relationship with the DRM. Initially, the LIFE team should respond to informal requests for: 1) assistance in strategic planning; 2) a workshop with DRM and NGOs to clarify areas of expertise and responsibilities; 3) training on communication skills and conservancy development for DRM information officers; and 4) support to the newly proposed Community Wildlife Management Division. Support to the division could include planning, information, and a full-time advisor, as requested.

Recommendation #8: The LIFE programme should encourage identification and support of emerging community-level facilitators for conservancy development. Training, networking, and regular follow-up will be necessary. Most often, these facilitators will be the chairpersons of the conservancy committees. It is anticipated that this growing group of conservancy leaders could developed into a "Conservancy Association". LIFE should provide training in advocacy skills for the emerging association, linking with activities under USAID/Namibia's strategic objective #4, if and when such an organization is formed.

Recommendation #9: LIFE and MET/DEA should design and fund a study analyzing the impacts of decentralization as it affects conservancy development and make recommendations for the most effective institutional arrangements, including roles and responsibilities of the different players. This study would contribute to the MET's strategic planning efforts and the design of support to field level staff.

3.3 Objective #3: Social, economic, and ecological knowledge base improved for management of communal natural resources in target areas.

The knowledge base for management of natural resources in target areas has improved, particularly regarding economic and social data, and less so ecological and marketing information. Questions remain, however, as to how well these studies have responded to a clearly identified need and how extensively the results have been used. It was the impression of the Evaluation Team that some results were not being adequately applied to decision making and that achievements beyond generating data have been limited.

In addition to supporting a socio-ecological survey in Kunene, LIFE supported SSD to undertake baseline socio-economic surveys and inventories on current community natural resource management practices and land use in the target areas. A study on population dynamics and immigration in West Caprivi was also completed, as well as a case study looking at the CRMs and the impact of CBNRM on women in East Caprivi (Mbabane, 1995).

Research of the seasonal movement of elephant herds within Caprivi and between other countries adjacent to Caprivi was completed and documented (Rodwell, 1995). The elephant herd demographics study (age structure, herd mortality and recruitment rates, sex structure, etc) has not yet been fully undertaken, although some data was collected. In addition, a number of aerial censuses were completed in Caprivi with partial funding from LIFE. A significant review of the literature and a resource directory for *hyphaenae* palm management in Namibia was also completed (Harrison, 1996). As conservancies gain rights over resource management and use, ecological data will become more important.

The LIFE Program also supported an extensive craft study and inventory, the results of which guided LIFE programme interventions in the craft sector. A study of the potential for venison marketing in Europe was completed, as well as additional studies to determine the existing and potential market demand for some resource use products.

Recommendation #10: Before proceeding with applied research, information needs, intended uses, and feedback mechanisms to communities and other stakeholders should be clearly identified.

Recommendation #11: On a site-by-site basis, compile existing information on the privatization and fencing of communal lands by individuals and on the ownership of livestock. Identify gaps in the existing knowledge, especially as they relate to emerging conservancies.

3.4 Objective #4: Increased community awareness and knowledge of NRM opportunities and constraints.

LIFE partners are effectively disseminating information regarding the conservancy concept and its legal framework. The DEA has produced and disseminated over 500 "Conservancy Toolboxes" which are being used in the field. The LIFE partners have been less effective in disseminating information from surveys, trends, inventories and applied research. Information on palm propagation techniques, however, has been distributed widely in areas of East Caprivi, as demonstrated by the number of palm gardens. Similarly, natural resource product marketing information, specifically for thatching grass and crafts, has been disseminated to resource users.

Through a grant to the MET/DEA, the LIFE Programme has provided support for the development and implementation of a programme to have community members routinely and systematically collect data on wildlife populations through sightings of animals and spoor. Data is collected while CGGs are on their regular patrols. Addressing weaknesses in previous systems, the present method, developed with inputs from Dr. Goodman, a highly respected scientist in the region, identifies the species that are seen, numbers, sex/age if possible, and the date. The data are geo-referenced according to the place they were collected. This information can then be analyzed to illustrate population trends and movements. It can be used for development planning, to identify further research needs, and for management.

While it is still difficult to develop trends, the data has only been collected in its present form for the past year, there are examples of communities using this information. In Wuparo Conservancy, the CGGs noted that buffalo were not crossing into their area from the Mamili National Park along one section of the boundary. Hypothesizing that this was due to poaching, the CGGs intensified their patrols.

A series of digitized base maps were produced for East and West Caprivi, and Nyae Nyae to allow for recording of wildlife sighting within the new data collection system. In Nyae Nyae, a recent inventory of water points was added to the data base and maps printed displaying the information. The maps in general have been of critical importance to the overall conservancy development process. In particular, the maps have been used to display conservancy boundaries, as is required as part of the conservancy registration process, and are being used for land use and natural resource planning. As the maps include reference points familiar to the community (i.e.: baobab trees, veld food collection areas, roads, schools), many community members are able

to use the maps. The maps have thus become an effective communication tool both within the community and with outsiders. They have been used by the Salambala Conservancy Committee to show the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement the boundaries of their proposed conservancy and the area of disputed settlement. Communities have also used the maps to show MET officials the distribution of wildlife populations. Finally, the maps are being used internally as a mechanism to discuss conservancy issues with community members.

According to the recently completed Project Monitoring Visit (PMV, 1997) it is the DEA's observation that the maps have been critical to the process of developing a "shared understanding of resources" within the communities and with the MET where they have been used. Enabling communities to develop an understanding of resource availability is important to building the skills and commitment necessary for communities to assume an active management role.

Information is disseminated at several different levels. In West Caprivi, several of the CCGs give monthly reports to the traditional leaders. As the conservancy committee develops, it is anticipated that the CCGs will be appointed and managed by the committee. Where headmen once played a prominent role in the appointment of CCGs and the game guards reported to them, the CCGs in the future will be responsible to the conservancy committee. There is the potential for headmen to become alienated from the conservancy approach if their previous role is not recognized and there is not a smooth transition in the transfer of responsibility (Durbin, et, al, 1997). In Caprivi, IRDNC has plans to release the CCGs that are in their employ. The conservancy committees can then decide whom to employ and their terms.

It is important to realize that CCGs and their communities are generally collecting and analyzing much more data than is recorded on the wildlife forms. In some cases, it may be necessary to develop alternative fora for reporting results to the community. In Nyae Nyae, the quarterly meeting with the MET offers an invaluable opportunity for community rangers to report sightings and trends from the last three months. Community rangers also report on other natural resource issues, such as veld foods and fires. In the case of the fence between Botswana and Caprivi, interviews were conducted with the CCGs in West Caprivi to better understand the migration routes of the animals in the area. It is anticipated that the location of the fence will be modified based on this information. To ensure that data collected by the CCGs are accepted by MET, LIFE partners should support joint fact-finding opportunities.

Recommendation #12: As management plans are developed, LIFE partners should place more emphasis on the identification and strategic analysis of information gathering needs for natural resource management and on ensuring data collection techniques are providing the necessary information.

3.5 Objective #5: Communities mobilized into legally recognized bodies capable of managing communal resources.

In anticipation of the amendment to the Nature Conservation Ordinance, LIFE Programme partners have increasingly supported the development of conservancy structures since early 1996. Facilitation in the target areas is being provided by IRDNC, who is supporting seven conservancies in East and West Caprivi, Rossing Foundation (jointly with the LIFE team), in the case of Uukwaluudhi, and the LIFE team directly, in the case of Salambala (jointly with IRDNC) and Nyae Nyae. As an intervention outside of the target areas, the LIFE team also provides support to the #Khoadi //Hoas Committee in north-west Namibia. Thus, a total of nine conservancies are being supported by the LIFE partners within the target areas.

Assistance is being provided in organizing communities into representative management bodies, or conservancy committees. It is most likely that resources will be managed sustainably where all community stakeholders are represented in the decision-making process. Where decisions are made by only a faction of resource users, benefits may be denied or limited to other factions who may therefore find it in their interest to break resource use rules and potentially over exploit the resources.

Often established early on, these committees evolve throughout the process as community members become more aware of the conservancy concept and demand representation, as benefit flows are generated, and as committee members grow to understand the concepts of representation and accountability. In the end, it is not essential that all interest groups are represented by an individual on the committee, rather that the representatives chosen are aware of the different interests in their community and are capable of representing them.

In the cases of Nyae Nyae and Salambala Conservancies, the LIFE Programme has researched and provided conservancy committees with information regarding community members' access to information and decision-making. In both cases, the committees have used this information to restructure their membership and improve communication. Mechanisms for gathering and using this type of information is critical for all of the conservancy committees.

Committees frequently, but not always, have a relationship with the traditional authority, but are generally democratically chosen outside of traditional structures. Frequently, a representative of the traditional authority will be a member of the committee as a means of facilitating communication and keeping the traditional authority informed. Importantly, the committee evolves throughout the conservancy development process. The LIFE partners are providing organizational skills to these committees, including proposal development, financial management, clarifying responsibilities of members, facilitating meetings, providing transportation, etc. Assistance is also being provided in drafting constitutions and formulating benefit distribution plans.

At the same time that LIFE Partners are strengthening the conservancy committees, they are also working with community members to ensure they are well informed. It is

believed that an effective way to enable free choice and the constitution of a representative committee is to provide all information about the opportunities and mechanisms of conservancies to all adults. Social surveys, with organization and training provided by the Community Resource Monitors (CRMs), allow for this process. CRMs also provide a "vector" for the integration of women into the entire process of CBNRM. It would also be beneficial to post the results of social and resource surveys, as well as minutes of meetings etc., in public places for all to see. Community members will begin to demand accountability of their representatives as they ask them to explain the documents.

Experience has demonstrated that boundary demarcation is perhaps the most difficult component of conservancy registration. To ensure that communities are able to establish effective management units, the physical boundaries must be a function of the social boundaries of their unit. There must be sufficient social cohesion for the conservancy to set, monitor, and enforce appropriate use rules, which tends to the creation of smaller conservancies with a greater potential for internal co-operation. However, for the management of game, particularly larger species, and in order to maximize tourism potential, it is advisable to include a much larger area.

In the Nyae Nyae conservancy, which is over 9,000 km², the community has created sub-units (e.g.: districts) to facilitate communication and joint decision-making. The Conservancy Committee will allocate benefits to the districts, where a community meeting will decide the distribution of benefits to members. However, resource management decisions, tourism planning, etc will occur at the conservancy-wide level. It is unclear whether the conservancies in Caprivi are the appropriate size because of different social units contained within the same physical boundaries. LIFE partners should continue their roles of facilitation of discussions and negotiations on boundary issues. It would be useful to provide training in conflict management to the facilitating NGOs.

Progress towards conservancy registration can be recorded. The Nyae Nyae Conservancy has been gazetted and applications for the Salambala, #Khoadi //Hoas and Torra conservancies are on the Minister's desk. The challenge for the future is to build capacity so that conservancies can be economically, socially, and ecologically sustainable communities with rights over all of their resources. The Evaluation Team believes that several of the committees have been strengthened, know their rights and are exercising them, and have a sense of ownership over the conservancy, but that there are few examples within the target areas of conservancies operating and managing their own activities at this stage.

Recommendation #13: Assistance should be provided in the development and field testing of appropriate monitoring and evaluation techniques for monitoring conservancy development, including: benefit sharing, flow of information, representativeness of structures, and linkages between benefits, incentives and management/use of specific resources. The focus of the monitoring and evaluation system should shift from project implementation to individual conservancy development.

3.6 Objective #6: Improved community skills in participatory enterprise management linked to natural resource management.

3.6.1 Natural Resource-Based Enterprise Development

Most of the programme's achievements in this area have been in enterprise development working with villagers, craftsmen, and resource users. The approach has sought to identify and develop revenue generating enterprises based on existing natural resources. Enterprise development has focused on crafts that use natural resources for raw materials, on enterprises consisting of the harvest of natural resources, especially of thatching grass, and on campground development.

These NR-based revenue generating activities have been developed in the absence of a natural resources management plan and in the absence of a legally constituted body for managing the resources. This is a constraint that is just now being overcome. Collective, participatory management of natural resources and management of each conservancy as a business enterprise are only possible after each conservancy committee has become a functioning CBO. The two can only become formalized upon registration as a conservancy. As there is only a small handful of conservancies that have recently reached or neared this stage, it is only recently that LIFE has begun to focus more assistance at the committee level to develop overall NRM and business management skills.

As a result, it has not been possible to integrate the development of enterprise skills and revenue generation as closely as one would have desired into their place as one of the legs of the CBNRM stool as presented in Section 2. There has been no participatory mechanism in place that has led to a collective management decision that certain resources/sites should best be managed for the production of thatching grass, the sustainable production of palms for basket weaving, or for a sustained yield of the wood used for carvings.

It is difficult to judge to what extent the NR-based enterprise development has created economic incentives for sustainable CBNRM. Crafts and thatching grass are not directly generating funds for management of the natural resources on which these activities depend. On the other hand, the project has clearly stressed the need for sustainable use. The project has attempted to define harvest techniques for thatching grass that do not deplete the resource and is testing techniques to monitor the half-dozen species used for this purpose. This is critical as the harvest of thatching grass in west East Caprivi has already expanded to use 100% of the known resource.

Basket weaving uses palm fronds as the raw material, and the palm species used is a very limited resource in many of the target areas. Harvest techniques used traditionally were often very destructive to the young palms. LIFE has identified and actively extended harvest techniques that do not kill the tree. They have experimented with planting techniques and are encouraging basket weavers to plant their own "palm gardens". The success of these efforts remains to be seen.

Crafts development at Nyae Nyae uses ostrich egg shell fragments from commercial game farms as the principal raw material. This makes the linkage between enterprise development and incentives for sustainable natural resource management even less evident, although community members do link the crafts with the tourists. This is especially so as the rationale for crafts development was income generation, rather than specifically linked to environmental management.

Early efforts to support crafts development were undertaken directly by LIFE staff, but specific skills were lacking and early progress was slow. Progress was much faster when Rossing Foundation, who does have expertise in this area, was brought in through a grant. The most exciting development has been the rediscovery in West Caprivi of the traditional "Khoe Basket" that was thought to have disappeared. This has developed into an attractive product being marketed through the Mashu crafts center. A grant to the Caprivi Arts and Cultural Association (CACA) has also been successful in providing training for local artists/craftsmen and in increasing their revenue generation.

3.6.2 Participatory NRM and Enterprise Development

NRM and enterprise skills development at the conservancy level need to be quite different from the types of local skills development that has taken place. Conceptually and legally, the conservancy management committee must manage the resources of the community in a participatory manner for the benefit of the community. For the conservancy to be viable, the management committee must acquire the skills necessary to manage the conservancy as a business. The Evaluation Team believes that the difficulties of developing both the business and NRM skills in the remote, impoverished communities of the LIFE target areas with their high levels of illiteracy must not be underestimated.

With the recent passage of the Amendment to the Nature Conservation Act in 1996, with only one conservancy registered and with three more having recently completed their applications, the Team did not expect to find these skills to be highly developed. The most progress at these levels has been made at Nyae Nyae and Salambala where LIFE Program staff have invested the most efforts. Some of the achievements have been the following:

- Both of these emerging conservancies have received direct grants from LIFE that the conservancy committees have been managing with quite intensive assistance and supervision. Although managing grant money under USAID regulations is not at all identical to the skills needed to run a business, this experience is certainly not without value.
- Nyae Nyae is well advanced in preparing its first natural resources management plan which members of the committee successfully presented and defended to the team.

- Salambala has developed a plan that integrates bore hole placement, campground development and a fenced-core wildlife area and is actively putting in infrastructure for this.
- Several of the conservancy committees were able to articulate ideas for zoning, reintroduction of game animals, water-point development for game management, use of future revenues for payment of game guards, etc.

The local NR-based enterprises have clearly created or increased, the demand for certain natural resources. Sustainable management of these natural resources will now need to be integrated into the overall, participatory NRM of each conservancy. Ideally, this will need to be done in a way that contributes to management costs and that creates incentives for CBNRM.

In the future, when starting work in a new area, it will not be necessary to start work with local enterprise development as it was during the first few years of the LIFE Program. One could assist in the development of the conservancy committee first, evaluate the condition and potential of the natural resources, develop a NRM plan and then begin enterprise in line with the location and potential of the resources. Much more attention should be paid in the future to better defining the timing, sequencing and linkage of local enterprise development within the overall context of CBNRM.

Recommendation #14: As conservancies register, it will be increasingly important for LIFE to provide technical support in natural resource planning and business management skills. Once LIFE Partners facilitate the development of simple land use plans, technical expertise should be accessed from NGOs outside LIFE as necessary. To insure sustainability, LIFE should provide training and support in running the conservancy as a business, with income and expenses, and access specific enterprise development skills from elsewhere.

3.7 Objective #7: Resource base of target areas developed and maintained.

Evidence of changes to the resource base are largely anecdotal. No baseline assessment, inventory or description of the resource base has been done in any of the target areas. Clear progress has been made in some areas in beginning to restore wildlife populations through anti-poaching efforts. This has certainly been the case in West Caprivi and in parts of East Caprivi. In West Caprivi, poaching was clearly out of control in the early 90's. The community game guards, with good support from police and the military, seem to have been very successful in bringing poaching under control, even cross-border poaching from Angola. Notably, when questioned by the Team, they never mentioned receiving any support from DRM (DRM has an official mandate to control poaching).

Many species of wildlife were eliminated from target areas prior to project start-up and will need to be reintroduced. Several communities clearly hope to achieve this with assistance from MET, LIFE or even professional hunters, but this has not yet been

done anywhere. Communities neighboring the north-east parks also hope that wildlife will flow from the parks into their conservancies.

One of the best tools for managing and improving the resource base in the savanna types that predominate in the target areas is through fire management. Most savannas are savannas because of man's use of fire. Fire has traditionally been used in the savanna areas of Africa, including in Namibia, to manage for wildlife, for veld foods, and multiple other reasons. It is perhaps not surprising that a fire management program has not yet been implemented in any of the target areas, but the Team was a bit surprised that almost no mention of fire as a management tool was made during the field visits. Indeed, it was learned that the Division of Forestry has a new program in the northeast to try to exclude fire from savanna types. More attention to fire as a management tool will be needed in the future.

Water is critical to wildlife management. Salambala and Nyae Nyae are developing/planning water point development to provide for both wildlife and cattle needs. Some fencing has been done, more is planned.

Recommendation #15: Although MET/DEA is effectively building a community data collection capability, to date this effort has not led to the development of a system that can usefully measure the status of the resource base as required under objective #7. Since it does not appear that the information collected by the CGGs will provide an acceptable measure of the status of the resource base within conservancies, the LIFE Programme should take the lead in identifying one or more indicators to serve this purpose.

3.8 Objective #8: Analysis of CBNRM dynamics, experiences and lessons learned shared throughout Namibia and between Namibia and southern African colleagues.

With the exception of resources economics, written documentation of the Namibian experience by the LIFE Programme has been limited. Key players lack the time to analyze their experiences, especially the dynamics of CBNRM. Furthermore, there has been inadequate attention paid to compiling, synthesizing, and disseminating the studies that have been developed outside of the LIFE Programme.

Experiences and lessons learned have been shared through exchange visits and training events sponsored by both LIFE and the regional office. The effectiveness of these visits has been enhanced when implementing NGOs are fully involved.

Recommendation #16: LIFE should undertake a series of end-of-project analytical papers on areas of key investment, including a review of the diverse examples of community-level resource management regimes and institutions, and of experiences in supporting these structures.

3.9 The LIFE Programme Steering Committee

All activities of the LIFE Programme are coordinated and monitored by the steering committee, composed of MET, USAID, WWF Team, IRDNC, NNFC, NACOBTA, SSD and the Director of the LAC. The MET, through the DEA, chairs the committee. Decision-making is by consensus, although USAID and MET retain the right to veto any activity which is contrary to their respective policies or regulations. Tasks include:

- advise MET and USAID on all LIFE Programme activities
- oversight of the WWF Team through reports, monitoring workplans/budgets, and evaluations
- review and approve sub-grant applications in accordance with criteria and priorities established by the committee
- monitor impact of government policies concerning community resource use in the target areas and make recommendations; and
- develop a plan for Namibian NGOs in conjunction with the MET to maintain key functions on a sustainable basis at the conclusion of the project.

In effect, the Steering Committee is the project implementation group for the LIFE Programme, monitoring their activities, making resource allocation decisions, and setting programme policy and priorities. It represents no more than those groups working in the target areas of the LIFE Programme. The steering committee has been effective in building Namibian ownership over the programme, balancing distribution of financial resources, and negotiating differences. While there are conflicts at times between the members, all parties agree that the committee is an effective mechanism for group decision-making over the LIFE Programme.

3.10 Development of the National CBNRM Programme and the Communal Areas Resource Management Support (CARMS)

At the same time the LIFE Steering Committee was meeting, interested stakeholders were developing the national CBNRM Programme. It soon became clear that, with a few important exceptions, the national programme involved all of the same people as the LIFE Programme. To avoid duplication of meetings, the LIFE Steering Committee and the national programme effectively became one and the same. With passage of the legislation supporting conservancies, however, it has become clear that the national CBNRM programme will be broader and more inclusive than the LIFE target areas and the current partners. The National CBNRM Committee should now expand its membership to represent and coordinate the broader programme, including new actors and areas. It is unclear whether the LIFE Steering Committee will remain the same group as it is now, perhaps as a sub-group of the National CBNRM Committee, or if it will continue to be equated with the National Committee in its expanded form.

With the LIFE Programme apparently coming to a close, the Steering Committee agreed that the functions of the LIFE Technical Team should continue. Functions include:

- Acting as a secretariate to the National CBNRM Programme
- Grant making and management
- Facilitation of emerging conservancies
- Advocacy
- Fundraising

CARMS, as an organization servicing the National CBNRM Committee, was designed to undertake these various functions. It seems to the evaluation team that all of these functions may not best be performed by the same organization under the auspices of the National CBNRM Committee. The Evaluation Team recommends that the National CBNRM Collaborative Group should re-examine the design of the CARMS proposal, giving careful consideration as to the functions and accountability of the organization, while bearing in mind the lessons learned by NACOBTA. For example, while there is a need to start small, allowing for the organization to evolve in response to needs of its constituents, it should be big enough to have the skills and resources to adequately deliver services. If CARMS is meant to have credibility with other NGOs, it is important that it is viewed as independent from LIFE. It could be coordinated by the national programme, but maybe not equated with it. CARMS will require significant technical assistance in organizational development, including strategic planning, strengthening of the Board of Trustees, appropriate accounting and administrative systems, and human resource management.

It is difficult at this point to discuss the downsizing or restructuring of the LIFE Team without knowing what the future looks like. However, the Evaluation Team believes that the LIFE staff should be relocated into appropriate Namibian organizations as they are identified. For example, recommendation #4 suggests that the LIFE TA/CBNRM Advisor moves to Rossing Foundation as soon as possible.

3.11 Progress Towards the Mission's Strategic Objective

USAID/Namibia's SO#3 is the "Increased benefits to historically disadvantaged Namibians from sustainable local management of natural resources". The Mission's strategy was developed in 1996 almost a year after the revisions and amendment of the LIFE Project, completed in 1995. Therefore, a concerted effort was made to align the SO in close collaboration with the LIFE Project objectives. The LIFE Project evaluation confirms that major accomplishments have been achieved towards the Mission's Strategic Objective, the Intermediate Results and the indicators. A summary table can be found in Appendix 4.

USAID has supported the development of CBNRM since 1993. With the first conservancy gazetted in February, 1998, the precedent has now been established for registering conservancies in Namibia under the June 1996 "Conservancy" legislation (IR Indicator 3.1.1). Three other conservancies are in the final stages of approval and

will be signed by the MET in the next few months (SO Indicator 3.4). When all four conservancies are fully registered, approximately 1,654,300 hectares of communal land will be under local management, establishing conditions for indigenous African ownership (SO Indicator 3.3).

LIFE support has resulted in natural-resource based income generation activities, totaling N\$ 668,350 (US\$148,522) which exceeded the target by 149% (SO Indicator 3.1). This income was generated by successful enterprises such as basket making, harvesting thatching grass, community campsites and cultural presentations. Women benefit most from the income being generated so far because traditionally, thatching grass and basket weaving are "women's work". The expansion of marketing outlets has provided additional income for women. Further increases in benefits for all conservancy members are expected when conservancies enter into legal agreements with private sector investors, such as the recently signed trophy hunting concession in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy that took place during the evaluation.

The improved political and legislative environment for CBNRM - most especially the 1996 Amendment Act - provides for the empowerment of local communities to manage their game (IR Indicator 3.1.1). President Nujoma's active participation in CBNRM and conservancy development has raised the level of awareness of the need for sustainable use of all Namibian's natural resources. NANGOF, an NGO umbrella organization, has taken the leadership in monitoring the pending Land Bill and was able to convince the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation to allow additional time for citizen input into discussions concerning the bill's recognition of conservancy status in communal areas (Synergy with SO#4).

Considerable progress has been made in strengthening CBNRM activities in target areas, particularly concerning the institutional development of conservancy management committees. Routine assessments of community management committees show that 100% of the target expectations were met (IR Indicator 3.2.1). Continual assistance and regular training activities have been key in producing this success.

It is expected that achievements will continue in the remaining 16 months of LIFE.

3.12 Progress Towards LIFE Project Purpose and Goal

Purpose: "Communities derive increased benefits in an equitable manner by gaining control over, and sustainably managing, natural resources in target areas."

The Evaluation Team has concluded the following points regarding progress towards the LIFE Program purpose:

- **Benefits** Monetary benefits have been generated (about US\$150,000 in 1997). Most benefits have gone to thatch cutters and local craftsmen. Communities as a whole are only now poised to begin realizing new types of benefits through their conservancy committees through contracts with private sector investors in trophy

hunting and tourism development. Nonmonetary benefits include empowerment, increased control over resources, development of legally constituted bodies representative of communities and increased knowledge of opportunities and rights.

- **Equity** The legislation requires that each unit has a plan for equitable sharing of benefits. This has not been tested yet.
- **Control over resources** The Conservancy Act provides a legal mechanism for communities to gain increased control over wildlife resources and partial control over tourism development on their lands. Some of the communities are clearly striving for broader control over their lands and resources.
- **Sustainable management of resources** One cannot say that any resources are being managed sustainably yet, but there have been some improvements in the resource base, mainly through the control of poaching. Information is being gathered and analyzed, management options are being identified and debated, and some management decisions have been made and some infrastructure put in place.

3.13 Contribution to the Namibian National CBNRM Programme

The goal of the national CBNRM programme is that: *Communities take greater responsibility for managing and benefiting in an equitable manner from sustainably managed natural resources.* Needless to say, the analysis provided above demonstrates that the national programme is on the road to achieving this goal. An enabling policy environment has been created and support organizations supported. Partnerships between communities, government, and the private sector are growing. There is still a need, however, to support the development of capabilities and awareness of the Government of Namibia, NGOs, unions and other institutions supporting CBNRM. The challenge for the next five years will be to extend the conservancy concept nationally in a cost-effective manner and "to manage natural resources for recovery, as a national and local economic resource."

Recommendation # 17: Although progress and achievement of the LIFE Programme have been very impressive, it is critical that USAID provide continued support to CBNRM in Namibia beyond the end of the current LIFE programme. Namibia's CBNRM Programme is certainly one of the most enlightened in all of Africa, but the initiatives begun under LIFE cannot possibly become self-sustaining by the end of the current project. USAID should design an approximately five-year follow-on based on the evaluation of lessons learned from LIFE program and based on an assessment of the overall CBNRM sector in Namibia.

LIFE has over US\$630,000 set aside for grants that have not yet been awarded, including US\$295,000 for CARMS and US\$143,000 for the Human Resources Development Unit in MET. It is not clear how much of this money will actually be needed by PACD.

Recommendation #18: The that USAID hold off on the decision as to whether to extend the LIFE PACD for another six months. At this point in time it is unclear whether LIFE will use up all of its USAID funding by August 18, 1998. About \$650,000 is The situation should be much clearer six months from now.

4.0 PERFORMANCE OF THE LIFE PROGRAMME TEAM

The LIFE Programme presents some unique challenges for management and implementation. It is multi-disciplinary, including enterprise development, institution building and natural resource management, and works with a wide variety of clients: from government, to NGOs, to CBOs, to emerging conservancy committees. It is responsible to three parties, which at times have conflicting objectives or approaches, including USAID, MET, and the LIFE Steering Committee. The fact that the Steering Committee awards grants to its own members may build Namibian ownership and responsibility for the programme, but it also means that the LIFE team is accountable to a body that is composed largely of members to who it has awarded most of its grants. Because the Steering Committee is in the "driver's seat", the LIFE Team is often the "passenger". As a result, the team is often required to be responsive, rather than proactive although it has been both at one time or another. Overall, the LIFE Team has performed extremely well, meeting the expectations of the Steering Committee, USAID, and the MET. As with all projects, the staff is largely responsible for its success.

4.1 World Wildlife Fund

WWF-US, the lead organization in the LIFE Team consortium, has provided consistently excellent staff in the field and backstopping from the home office. Programme management has diplomatically and effectively coordinated, and balanced, the diverse interests of the Steering Committee, USAID, and MET. Implementation has been flexible, while not losing sight of the ultimate purpose of the programme. Workplans, budgets, and reports are comprehensive and delivered on time. Everyone interviewed by the Evaluation Team, from conservancy committee members up to MET officials, stated that the overall management of the LIFE Programme was exceptional.

The success of the LIFE Team has been linked to one of its weaknesses. In being flexible and responsive in its philosophy, it has sometimes lacked a strategic approach. Planning and reporting have focussed on individual tasks, rather than on the larger picture and strategy. Given the dual nature of the Steering Committee, both providing oversight of the LIFE Team and implementing grants, the Team has found it difficult to "manage for results." Many grants do not have agreed upon performance targets/ indicators against which to assess performance. As a result, only some sub-grantees have been held accountable for their results. Furthermore, it was recommended, in the mid-term review that the executive summary of the semi-annual reports "be more results focussed". This does not seem to currently be the case.

WWF has provided the Chief of Party, Technical Advisor for Natural Resource Economics, and, between 1993-1996, the CBNRM Advisor. In 1996, WWF assumed the position of Financial Manager, and the CBNRM Advisor position was filled by World Learning. The technical performance of WWF can largely be inferred from the achievements section above. Both the technical assistance and training provided by the WWF team members was applauded at all levels of the programme. Given the flexible and responsive approach to the project, it was difficult to forecast exactly which activities and clients would be involved in the project. The Team lacked skills in business development, crafts, and NGO strengthening. To WWF's credit, some of these shortcomings were recognized and Rossing Foundation was awarded a grant to provide business and craft development skills. The LIFE Team also found it difficult to design and implement a financial and administrative system that could both meet USAID requirements and be appropriate for emerging CBOs.

WWF-US, as a member of an international family consisting of over 45 national offices, brings a number of institutional strengths to the LIFE Programme. For example, WWF-US has mobilized a 25 percent match contribution. Over \$3.0 million, these resources have been used to support activities otherwise not allowed by USAID funding. This flexibility has proven invaluable in the execution of the LIFE Programme. Furthermore, the WWF family, specifically WWF-UK, has mobilized additional funding from DIFID for support of Rossing Foundation's CBNRM training initiative and some of IRDNC's activities in the northwest. The WWF family has also been mobilized to lobby for removal of the fence recently constructed between Botswana and West Caprivi, Namibia. WWF has also succeeded in accessing the experience and skills of the WWF-Zimbabwe office, which has been providing technical assistance to the CAMPFIRE Programme since 1989.

4.2 World Learning, inc. (WL)

World Learning is known for its institutional skills and experience in establishing and implementing NGO-support projects, particularly those that include a grant-making facility. Between 1993-1996, World Learning provided a full-time Financial Manager to the project to establish the sub-grant component, including operating manuals, financial systems, etc. Technical assistance and training was also provided to grant recipients. The system has been recognized as successful by the NGOs, and less so by the CBOs. WWF-US has adapted the system and is now using it in many of its projects world-wide. World Learning has also provided technical assistance in training, specifically the training needs assessment completed for the MET in 1994, which is proving to be useful.

4.3 Management Systems International (MSI)

MSI has provided a full-time Monitoring & Evaluation/Institutional Development Specialist to the project since 1994. The LIFE Programme M&E system has been applauded throughout the region for its comprehensive and systematic approach to programme evaluation. The Institutional Development Profile (IDP) and Community Management Profile (CMP), developed with inputs from the home office, have been useful self-assessment tools for NGO planning and monitoring. However, without

performance indicators or targets at the individual grant level, it has been difficult to assess performance. The M&E system has effectively provided data required by USAID, although few of the implementing NGOs have embraced the M&E system, with the exception of the IDP, and are using the data for making management decisions. Thus, it is unlikely that the M&E system will be maintained once the technical assistance departs. As discussed in the achievements section, it is now time to develop simple systems that can be used to measure the status of conservancy development on an individual basis. If appropriate and responsive to the information needs of the conservancies, this system is more likely to be sustained by the Namibians.

4.4 Rossing Foundation (RF)

Rossing Foundation, as the Namibian partner, has employed and supported the Namibian staff in the LIFE Programme. Staff have been consistently excellent in their performance. In addition, Rossing has provided invaluable information regarding the environment in which the LIFE Programme operates and insights into the Namibian NGO community. On the whole, Rossing Foundation has demonstrated significant institutional change through its engagement in the LIFE Programme. In 1996, it realigned its institutional goals to include CBNRM and, in 1998, received a significant grant from DIFID for the provision of training in this field. In addition, Rossing Foundation has dedicated a part-time staff member to facilitate the development of the Uukwaluudhi conservancy. At times, it appears Rossing Foundation has lacked adequate staff to respond to requests from the LIFE Programme. This has been partially addressed through the grant to the crafts sector and most recently by the DIFID funding.

5.0 PROGRAMME IMPACTS

The Team was required to evaluate the impacts of the LIFE Programme. The Team's definition of "impact" is: a relatively permanent change that has taken place, or that may take place, as a result of the project. As an impact would continue indefinitely beyond the end of the project, one usually cannot accurately judge impacts of a project while it is on-going. However, one can make a reasoned judgment based on experience as to potential impacts.

Ultimately, the LIFE Programme will be judged in terms of the sustainable management of natural resources. But before these results are reached, rural people need to be empowered to manage their resources and need to be able to reap benefits from their resources. Particularly in the early stages, CBNRM projects must therefore be judged on the extent to which empowerment and the development of successful common property resource management institutions are achieved. The objective of this chapter is to highlight the potential long-term impacts of the LIFE Programme.

5.1 Ecological Impacts

When attempting to look at ecological impacts of a project, one must look at the broad linkages amongst the project, the environment, demographic growth, sustainability of agriculture, poverty and off-farm employment creation opportunities. It is increasingly recognized that short-term positive ecological impacts of rural development/conservation interventions are often negated in the mid-term by demographic growth and/or unsustainable agriculture combined with the lack of economic alternatives. LIFE seems to have given relatively little attention to these strategic factors to date.

Namibia is often considered to be underpopulated, and population densities are indeed low on a continent-wide scale. But population densities must always be considered in relation to the level of productivity of the ecosystems, the level of economic development, and the technologies on which the economy depends. The arid and semi-arid conditions in Namibia impose severe restrictions on the productivity of the ecosystems.

The Environmental Profile for Caprivi estimates demographic growth at 4 percent per year for the area. This dimension must be factored into any attempts at achieving sustainable use of natural resources on communal lands. The Evaluation Team has not seen demographic projections considered in the LIFE Programme documentation. The conditions that lead to greatly reduced demographic growth are fairly well known. They include access to primary health care, a reasonably comfortable standard of living, a fairly high level of education for the population as a whole and especially for women, a relatively independent social status for women and ready, affordable access to family planning techniques. While this issue goes well beyond the means of the LIFE Programme to resolve, LIFE should factor demographic growth into the analysis of the feasibility of land use options and make communities and planners aware of its consequences.

Another "red flag" that is cause for concern is the apparently rapid expansion of "slash and burn agriculture" seen in East Caprivi. The Team's "windshield survey" would indicate that there is a very rapid, recent conversion of savanna forest to rainfed agriculture along some of the major roads. Many fields and recent fallows have numerous dead stumps and standing dead tree trunks, indicating that the conversion from forest is very recent. The apparent high ratio of fallow to active fields might indicate that soil fertility is quickly depleted by cropping. The sandy soils make this highly probable. The lack of woody vegetation in fallows is worrisome, because woody fallow cover is usually more efficient in restoring soil fertility than grass cover.

Again, no mention of rapid conversion of wooded savanna to fields was raised as an issue during the field trip, nor is it prominent in the project's documentation. It does not appear that any analysis of the sustainability of rainfed agriculture in Caprivi has been done. Impoverished, rural populations reliant on unsustainable, slash-and-burn agriculture on infertile, sandy soils lacking in economic alternatives can be a sure formula for rapid ecological degradation.

Can CBNRM lead to ecological sustainability? The Evaluation Team doubts that any one can accurately predict this. One can conclude, with relative confidence, that state control and management of communal land and resources across Africa has been an ecological disaster. The alternative is privatization of lands and resources in communal areas. This would almost certainly be disastrous for the large, highly mobile wildlife species like elephants. At this point, CBNRM offers the alternative most likely to succeed.

Ecological sustainability will be a function of the importance of the economic impacts of CBNRM and the degree to which economic benefits serve as effective incentives to sustainable management. Ecological sustainability may also be conditioned by the degree to which community ownership or tenure over land and resources galvanizes communities to care for and defend their land and resources.

5.2 Economic Impacts

In the short-term, the LIFE Programme has increased the financial returns from natural resources being received by communities, particularly women. The thatching grass project in Caprivi has earned over \$N400,000 in the last three years, benefiting over 800 households. Crafts producers have received similar economic returns. Funds have been used to purchase food in times of drought, pay for school fees, and other household necessities. Potentially, the most significant impact has been the development of the Community-Based Tourism sector at both the governmental and community-level. The LIFE Programme has worked with the MET, private sector, and NGOs to establish community-based tourism enterprises (CBTEs), including joint-ventures and community efforts (i.e.: community campgrounds, traditional villages, etc.). At the NGO level, LIFE has contributed to the development of NACOBTA, which is now accessing funds from other donors and will provide services to CBTEs. Appendix 3 reflects the total economic benefits received by communities in target areas.

Economic impacts will vary greatly from one area to another as a function of a host of factors, including the natural resource potential of the area and the touristic appeal. The per capita impact will depend on the density of human populations in relationship to the resource base. Finally, the economic impact will depend to a very large degree on the capacity that is developed by each conservancy for business management and for NRM. As CBNRM development is still in its infancy in Namibia, mid to long-term economic impact is very difficult to predict at this point.

5.3 Impact on the Capacity for Natural Resources Management

The Evaluation Team considers it too early to judge the future impact of the project on the capacity of communities to sustainably manage their natural resources.

5.4 CBO, NGO and Government Institutional Development

Many of the CBOs/NGOs working in the LIFE project target areas show significant institutional development. Significant achievements have been made in information

dissemination, establishing representative bodies, training in facilitation skills and community-level data collection, and developing organizational and administrative systems. The impact of these efforts has been the creation of a context in which local communities have been able to seize their rights and responsibilities for resource management, and beyond.

There are many examples of communities thus empowered. The Salambala conservancy committee approached several key ministers and the President where they were able to get government support for the removal of a small group of local residents blocking the development of their conservancy. In eastern Tsumkwe District, the NNFC organized and petitioned the government for the removal of Herero farmers and over 1,200 head of livestock, which were threatening their veld foods and wildlife habitat. Following a critical meeting with the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Lands and Resettlement, the Herero settlement was announced as illegal and all Herero were removed from the Nyae Nyae Conservancy. In East Caprivi CGGs are collecting and analyzing data on the incidence of problem animals and challenging the MET/DRM in their lack of response to this increasing problem. Throughout the target areas, communities are organizing, building community institutions, and taking responsibility not only for management of their resources, but also for the development process.

5.5 Human Resource Development

Numerous workshops and training events have been supported by the LIFE Programme. In addition, the LIFE Team has worked along side community members, NGO staff, and other individuals. The result has been a notable increase in skills and human resource capacity. The impact of this development is improved service delivery and a core of experienced and skilled Namibian. However, given the shortage of trained Namibians and competition for their expertise, it is no way assured that individuals supported by LIFE will remain in the CBNRM field.

5.6 Policy Interventions

The MET, with support from the LIFE Programme, has successfully created an enabling policy environment for CBNRM, going further than any other in southern Africa in giving rights over wildlife and tourism directly to local communities. The Wildlife, Management, Utilization and Tourism in Communal Areas Policy was passed by the Namibian Parliament in March, 1995, followed by the Nature Conservation Amendment Act of 1996. Regulations for the establishment of conservancies were approved in January 1997. These policy changes have allowed the CBNRM effort in Namibia to expand exponentially, as communities are secure in their rights.

6.0 LESSONS LEARNED

6.1 Namibian ownership of the programme has been a key strength and is the foundation for sustainability.

USAID/LIFE came in support of a CBNRM initiative developed by the MET/DEA and Namibian NGOs. The core initiative was well conceived -- it was primarily lacking in funds and technical assistance to be realized. In the long-term, this ownership will ensure that CBNRM continues in Namibia.

6.2 The flexible approach of the LIFE Programme, facilitated by the use of a cooperative agreement mechanism, combined with its grants making capacity has also been a key strength of the programme.

LIFE has primarily supported a process. Support for a process must allow a high degree of flexibility. This flexibility has also enabled the LIFE Programme to respond effectively to "windows of opportunity" as they arise. Field implementation has to be strongly adapted to local cultural, socio-economic and ecological conditions. The programme design and the cooperative agreement and the matching funds provided by implementing partners have all favored flexibility. The grants making capability has been an especially effective complement to this flexibility.

6.3 The strong roles and functions of the LIFE Steering Committee have worked well in the Namibian context.

This has been especially true because of the high calibre of dedicated people on the Steering Committee. USAID has played a relatively minor role on the committee, their veto being limited to justification based on U.S. law and USAID regulations. While this would not have worked in many other countries, it has worked well in Namibia. (The Evaluation Team does feel that Steering Committee membership should be broadened -- see recommendations.)

6.4 CBNRM requires a sequential, phased approach based on the development of capacity and the realization of the community is objectives.

While CBNRM development must be adapted to local conditions, and lessons are still being learned on the details of what works best, it seems clear that the institutional development of a community-based organization is key. If the CBO is not representative, its chance of success will be slim. If the CBO does not have an agreed upon plan for equitable sharing of benefits, members may have little incentive to support CBNRM. If lines of two-way communications between the CBO and its members are not established and functioning, suspicions and disinformation may lead to breakdown in community solidarity. If physical boundaries of the community's lands are not clearly agreed upon by its neighbors, serious disputes may flare at any time. It would be very risky to attempt to make major natural resources management decisions or to enter into legal contracts on use of the community's resources until these CBO institutional development issues are worked out.

6.5 Process is more important than product in the early stages of CBNRM development.

This flows directly from the preceding finding. The issues of representation, equity, how to assure efficient, two-way communication and negotiations over boundaries all take time. One cannot push the process too fast. Product will be increasingly important after these issues have been largely resolved.

6.6 The legal basis for community control over resources and over benefits derived from these resources has proven to be a strong incentive for mobilizing communities.

It has been an incentive for communities to address questions of representation, equity, and the role of traditional authorities. It provided an incentive for them to seek to quickly develop a wide range of skills and capacity they did not previously have. The Conservancy Act has served as an incentive for local governance and democratization and empowerment of historically disadvantaged Namibians.

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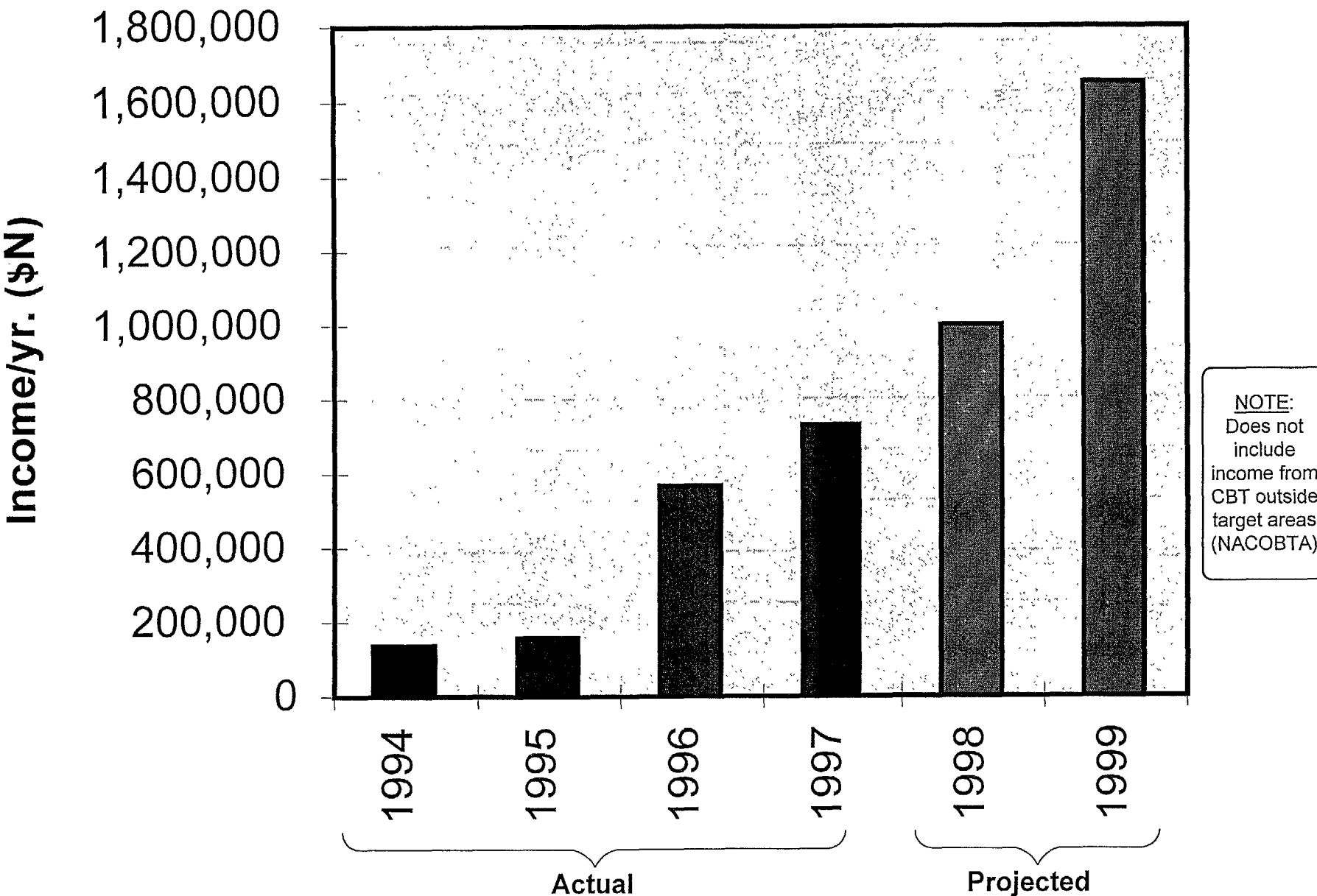
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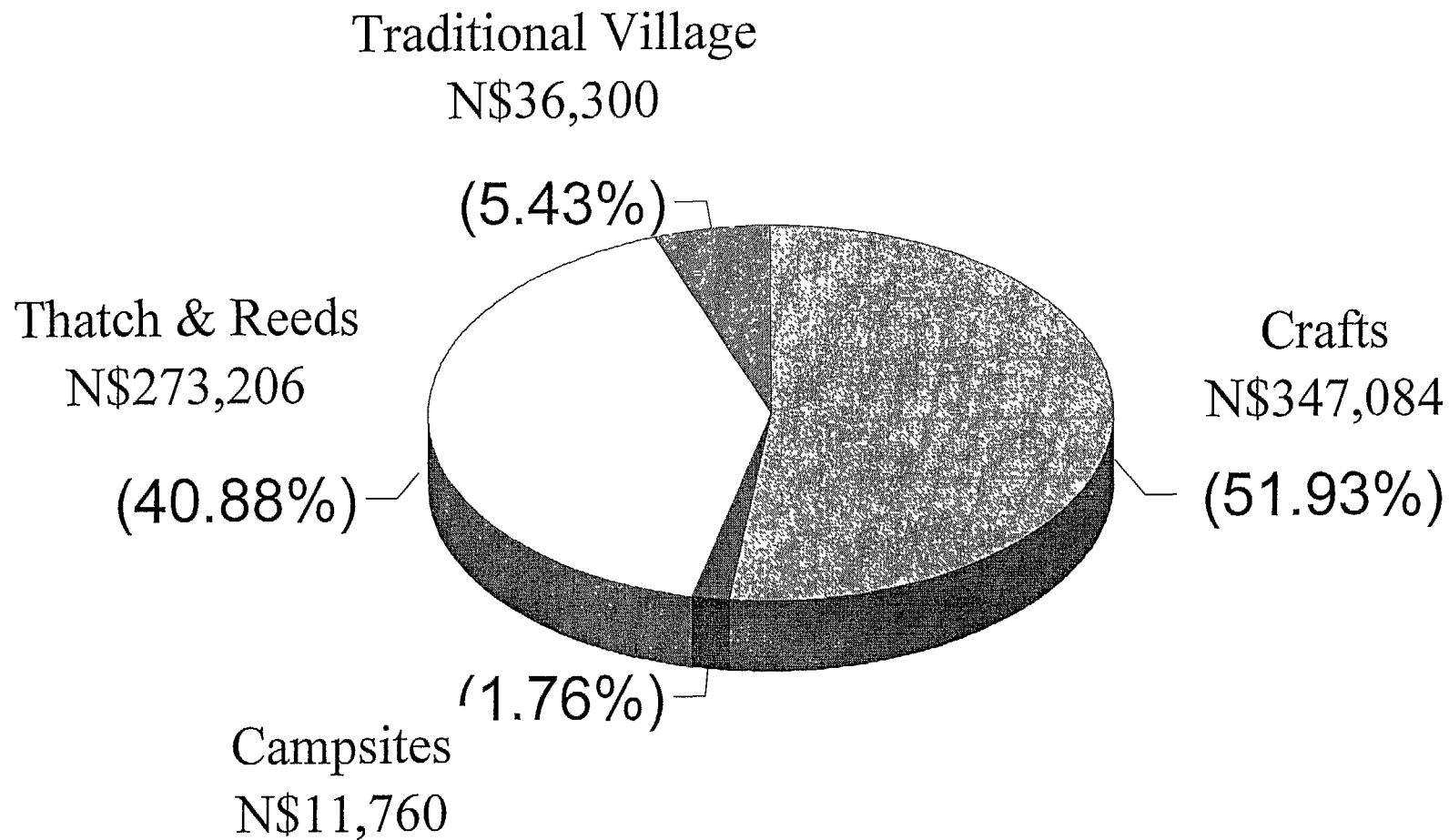
LIFE Financial Benefits by Year (actual and projected)

Appendix 3



LIFE Programme: 1997

Value of Benefit Streams



Progress Towards USAID/Namibia's Strategic Objective #3

SO: Increased benefits to historically disadvantaged Namibians from sustainable local management of natural resources.

Intermediate Result (IR)/Indicator	Progress towards Results
SO Indicator 3.1: Community income (gross) from program-supported natural resource management activities	149% of target
SO Indicator 3.2: Number of individuals in target communities that benefit from program supported NRM activities	6,423 individual from 4 registering conservancies
SO Indicator 3.3: Hectares of communal land under local management	1,654,300 expected in 5 conservancies
SO Indicator 3.4: Number of conservancies created	1 gazetted 3 registering
<i>I.R. 3.1: Improved policy and legislative environment for local control of natural resource management</i>	
Indicator 3.1.1: National policies, legislation and regulations adopted that promote environmentally sustainable resource management practices	7 policies/legislation in place
Indicator 3.1.2: Number of USAID-funded activities that have assisted Namibian organizations to establish legal, regulatory and policy frameworks supportive if CBNRM	138% of target
<i>I.R. 3.2: Strengthened community-based natural resource management activities in target communities</i>	
Indicator 3.2.1: Number of Namibian organizations strengthened to sustainably assist communities in the establishment of sustainable CBNRM enterprises and management enterprises	100% of target
Indicator 3.2.2: Number of Namibian men and women participating in officially recognized management bodies which assume responsibility for management of natural resources	22% of management bodies are women
Indicator 3.2.3: Number of program-related activities that produce positive net economic benefits to resource users in target areas	10 enterprises

Appendix 5

This appendix presents a compilation of all of the recommendations found in the text of the report. Some of the recommendations concern studies that will help the GRN help to develop the National CBNRM program. However the urgency of the need for such studies may be determined by decisions that will be made in the near future on the future course of the National Programme. Each recommendation has been marked as either High or Moderate Priority.

Recommendation #1: The MET should continue to focus on policy reform, including relevant policies of the MET and other ministries (i.e: range management, land rights, forestry, tourism). The Permanent Secretary and Minister should be involved as appropriate. Immediate attention should be paid to the Communal Lands Bill. Special attention should be paid to the "Parks and Neighbors" policy, as the economic viability of many of the conservancies in East Caprivi is dependent on the parks, and to the Tourism Act, which will entrench the rights of conservancies to tourism concessions.

High Priority

Recommendation #2: The Team suggests that the DEA Advisor for public relations conduct an internal review of the effectiveness and use of the "Toolboxes for Conservancy Development". It is recognized that there are many requests from the field, but the actual use of the toolbox, as well as its strengths and weaknesses, has not yet been assessed.

Moderate Priority

Recommendation #3: The MET/DEA should develop materials for policy-makers and the general public that highlight findings from the resource economics programme. These documents should stress the contribution and importance of wildlife and tourism to the national economy, among other points.

Moderate Priority

Recommendation #4: LIFE training activities should be developed and implemented in collaboration with Namibian training institutions. The LIFE team could provide insights into content as necessary. To facilitate this collaboration, and in light of the grant for CBNRM training just received by Rossing Foundation, the Evaluation Team recommends that consideration be given to moving the LIFE TA/CBNRM Advisor into the Rossing Foundation CBNRM unit. The training provided by LIFE should be designed in closer collaboration with the intended beneficiaries. Other opportunities for integrating LIFE staff into Namibian institutions during the remaining time of the project as judged appropriate.

High Priority

Recommendation #5: Grantees should be supported to develop and adopt appropriate, annual internal reviews to assess progress with respect to objectives and to modify activities. As part of this "adaptive management" process, grantees should undertake a one-day strategic planning exercise and develop clear performance targets and indicators. Partners supporting individual conservancies in the field should consider measuring their impact by progressive changes and performance at this level. In addition, the IDP, while providing a useful tool for self-assessment of many critical inputs to institutional development, does not provide a measure of the quantity or

quality of the services delivered relative to the inputs used. This should be adjusted accordingly.

Moderate Priority

Recommendation #6: The LIFE programme should make a focused effort to inform and interest NANGOF, NGOs and other potential stakeholders of the conservancy concept and the linkages between CBNRM and development. By better understanding these linkages and congruence of development and CBNRM objectives, NGOs may become more involved in the conservancy effort, bringing much needed skills. LIFE partners should also engage field-level staff from relevant ministries in CBNRM fora. This should be done without awarding new agents.

High Priority

Recommendation #7: The LIFE team should establish a much closer relationship with the DRM. Initially, the LIFE team should respond to informal requests for: 1) assistance in strategic planning; 2) a workshop with DRM and NGOs to clarify areas of expertise and responsibilities; 3) training on communication skills and conservancy development for DRM information officers; and 4) support to the newly proposed Community Wildlife Management Division. Support to the division could include planning, information, and a full-time advisor, as requested.

High Priority

Recommendation #8: The LIFE programme should encourage identification and support of emerging community-level facilitators for conservancy development. Training, networking, and regular follow-up will be necessary. Most often, these facilitators will be the chairpersons of the conservancy committees. It is anticipated that this growing group of conservancy leaders could developed into a "Conservancy Association". LIFE should provide training in advocacy skills for the emerging association, linking with activities under USAID/Namibia's strategic objective #4, if and when such an organization is formed.

High Priority

Recommendation #9: LIFE and MET/DEA should design and fund a study analyzing the impacts of decentralization as it affects conservancy development and make recommendations for the most effective institutional arrangements, including roles and responsibilities of the different players. This study would contribute to the MET's strategic planning efforts and the design of support to field level staff.

High Priority

Recommendation #10: Before proceeding with applied research, information needs, intended uses, and feedback mechanisms to communities and other stakeholders should be clearly identified.

High Priority

Recommendation #11: On a site-by-site basis, compile existing information on the privatization and fencing of communal lands by individuals and on the ownership of livestock. Identify gaps in the existing knowledge, especially as they relate to emerging conservancies.

Moderate Priority

Recommendation #12: As management plans are developed, LIFE partners should place more emphasis on the identification and strategic analysis of information gathering needs for natural resource management and on ensuring data collection techniques are providing the necessary information.

High Priority

Recommendation #13: Assistance should be provided in the development and field testing of appropriate monitoring and evaluation techniques for monitoring conservancy development, including: benefit sharing, flow of information, representativeness of

structures, and linkages between benefits, incentives and management/use of specific resources. The focus of the monitoring and evaluation system should shift from project implementation to individual conservancy development. *High Priority*

Recommendation #14: As conservancies register, it will be increasingly important for LIFE to provide technical support in natural resource planning and business management skills. Once LIFE Partners facilitate the development of simple land use plans, technical expertise should be accessed from NGOs outside LIFE as necessary. To insure sustainability, LIFE should provide training and support in running the conservancy as a business, with income and expenses, and access specific enterprise development skills from elsewhere. *High Priority*

Recommendation #15: Although MET/DEA is effectively building a community data collection capability, to date this effort has not led to the development of a system that can usefully measure the status of the resource base as required under objective #7. Since it does not appear that the information collected by the CGGs will provide an acceptable measure of the status of the resource base within conservancies, the LIFE Programme should take the lead in identifying one or more indicators to serve this purpose. *Moderate Priority*

Recommendation #16: LIFE Should undertake a series of end-of-project analytical papers on areas of key investment, including a review of the diverse examples of community-level resource management regimes and institutions, and of experiences in supporting these structures. *Moderate Priority*

Recommendation #17: Although progress and achievement of the LIFE Programme have been very impressive, it is critical that USAID provide continued support to CBNRM in Namibia beyond the end of the current LIFE programme. Namibia's CBNRM Programme is certainly one of the most enlightened in all of Africa, but the initiatives begun under LIFE cannot possibly become self-sustaining by the end of the current project. USAID should design an approximately five-year follow-on based on the evaluation of lessons learned from LIFE program and based on an assessment of the overall CBNRM sector in Namibia. *High Priority*

Recommendation #18: The that USAID hold off on the decision as to whether to extend the LIFE PACD for another six months. At this point in time it is unclear whether LIFE will use up all of its USAID funding by August 18, 1998. About \$650,000 is The situation should be much clearer six months from now.

High Priority

HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING COMPONENT

This section reviews progress made by the LIFE project with regard to Human Resource Development (including training), since the last Mid Term Assessment in 1995, during which the Project Goal and Purpose was reviewed and amendments made in order to strengthen the Project and facilitate the achievement of its objectives. The HRD-related recommendations included the following:

- LIFE would aim to increase NGO participation through current CBNRM NGOs and those NGOs that have specific skills; i.e., to build the capacity in the new NGOs
- LIFE would support Community Based Tourism through increased support to the newly established ones such as NACOBTA
- LIFE would expand training programmes, provide additional support to MET officials, CBOs and NGOs
- LIFE would implement limited recommendations from the MET Training Needs Assessment (TNA) including limited support for CBNRM training and substantial short and long term training.

The section will then examine the progress made so far in relation to the above-mentioned objectives. It will review the requirements of MET and other LIFE partners in order to make them more effective institutions to facilitate the institutionalization of CBNRM in Namibia, and suggest the role that LIFE could play in the short term (approximately 18 months) to enhance the process.

PROGRESS TO DATE

A. Capacity Building and increased NGO participation

One of the key functions for the involvement of LIFE with this sector was part of an effort to:

- strengthen the institutional capacities through subgrants, organizational assistance, and strategic planning
- ensure a transfer of CBNRM skills through assistance with community organization and mobilization, guidance in the creation and development of a wide range of income-generating enterprises, and development of appropriate common resource management systems.

LIFE project has been actively involved in facilitating capacity building and increased NGO participation fairly successfully, given the number of institutional development profile reports each of which indicate a definite change resulting from interactions with LIFE project, through sub grants, strategic planning, training, increased establishment and performance generally. The typical examples are NACOBTA which has developed its training strategy and is in the process of developing training modules aimed at addressing needs identified in the training needs assessment. NACOBTA is currently liaising with a number of other service providers in the community based tourism sector in to develop the training programmes.

LIFE should facilitate capacity building in CBNRM training and other CBNRM activities. For NACOBTA, there is a specific need to expand capacity to deliver business management skills at the field level, either through recruitment of additional staff or training at the community level.

B. Support to community-based tourism

LIFE has facilitated the development of community based tourism through the evolvement of the Namibian Community Based Tourism Association (NACOBTA) and assisting in funding a CBTO position within MET.

It is anticipated that as more and more conservancies are established, the demand for special expertise in CBT will increase, thus the need for capacity building within NACOBTA as mentioned above.

C. Expansion of training programmes and provision of additional support to MET, CBOs AND NGOs

It has been observed that the number of training activities have increased remarkably ranging from provision of basic skills and knowledge in a wide array of areas including financial management, technical skills and that participants have included both policy decision makers, implementing staff both at governmental and NGO level. Specific recipients include the Rossing Foundation, the Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative, MET among others.

Given the variety of skills still lacking at both community and organization level, LIFE should continue to assist in facilitating these, either directly or through assistance to respective NGOs, CBOs, MET and communities actively involved in CBNRM work. It is clear that some of the community organizations will require assistance to identify different training requirements from the current generic ones. LIFE would have a role in facilitating this process.

D. Implementation of Training Needs Assessment (TNA) report and support of Training in MET

Apart from specific training programmes recommended in the TNA report, the need for MET to consider merging the (then) training and personnel unit in order to address its human resource development needs more effectively was underscored. In principle, this was accepted by MET and a training committee established to oversee the implementation of the remaining recommendations. It was anticipated that further steps would be taken to implement the rest of the recommendations. This has not happened to date.

The TNA 94 has had to be revised in the light of several additions to GRN legislation affecting wages and salaries (WASCOM 1995), Namibia Qualifications Act (NQF 1996) and amendments to the 1975 Nature Conservation Act (1996) concerning communal area conservancies. The report made several recommendations which MET accepted in principle once again, the only additional request being the preparation of manuals of procedures to be included as part of the implementation. Specific tasks were agreed whereby that MET would start the mechanisms of setting up an HRD unit, while the consultant would embark on the task of updating the proposed training modules among other activities. ALL the activities proposed resulting from the TNA 94 and the TNA revision were based on the assumption that MET would set up a fully-fledged HRD Unit. Once again, such a move would develop the capacity of MET to a level of self-reliance in managing its staff development programme more effectively.

LIFE Project expressed a willingness to offer limited assistance towards establishing the HRD Unit, if MET would consider making provision for the level of headship of the HRD unit at a Deputy Director level. A response is still awaited from MET regarding this proposal.

THE CAPACITY OF MET AND OTHER PARTNERS TO FACILITATE THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF CBNRM IN NAMIBIA

In order to link the institutionalization of CBNRM to current capacity in Namibia, one needs to consider the structures in place and to determine whether or not they would enhance or restrict the process. Apparently, much seems to have been done towards the institutionalization process within the CBTO/NGO sector, as evidenced by a number of success signs, some of these including developing training programmes, plans to recruit additional staff, the establishment of more offices, plans to extend training and capacity further afield etc.

Although a lot of ground work has been covered to enable MET to take on a more aggressive role in institutionalizing CBNRM, there is need to review the institutional framework within MET to enable the ministry to implement CBNRM effectively.

CBNRM in MET

The current structure of the Ministry comprises six major directorates (and/or sub directorates) as follows: i.e Resource Management, Environmental Affairs, Special Support Services, Forestry, Tourism and General Services.

The DEA has taken the lead in facilitating the process of institutionalization of CBNRM in Namibia through being involved in the initial development of the concept through to having it translated into legislation. The DRM which will be directly involved in the implementation of CBNRM in the field, has not been very actively involved in the CBNRM development stages. The DRM thus needs to review its structure and determine the extent to which the current structure and staff strength will steer the MET towards facilitating the institutionalization of CBNRM as a national programme.

It may be necessary therefore that the current DRM structure and (obviously!) that of the rest of MET be realigned to make it respond to the demands of CBNRM. Apparently, MET has been involved in restructuring negotiations with the OPM, an exercise which has taken steps to ensure this realignment meets the requirements of CBNRM down to the field level. This is commendable. There will be need for redesignation, retraining, reorientation, updating of job descriptions to reflect the "new" or restructured positions and their link with the rest of MET. These should be planned in such a manner that they will facilitate the smooth transition into the new structure. Most of these will have obvious Human Resource Development, as described in the following sub section.

The MET should implement a structure that will facilitate the institutionalization of CBNRM effectively. The proposed structure should aim at ensuring effective coordination and close collaboration both **within** and **without** MET so that stakeholder interests are covered adequately.

Human Resource Development in MET

Currently, MET has a Personnel office, headed by a Chief Personnel Officer and other Personnel staff who are responsible for all personnel matters in liaison with the OPM and the PSC. Although training is included in the job descriptions of the staff in this unit, it was confirmed that the unit simply coordinates nominations from departments which it submits to OPM for approval. It was also observed that oftentimes departments found themselves handling training and other personnel matters, besides their other work, thus rendering the Personnel department "ineffective".

It is apparent that this office is not involved in the development of human resource in any proactive manner. It has no direct influence over other equally important Human Resource Development matters such as conducting training needs for staff, coordinating (and advising) on performance appraisal of staff and developing career paths for all cadres of staff in MET. It was observed that because of the lack of expertise in MET on salary adjustment application, such as the recent WASCOM, staff in MET suffered a salary "decrease" of 20% below their counterparts in the teaching profession having similar qualifications and experience!

Such problems and others of a similar are likely to occur unless efforts are made to revamp the unit in order to enable it to provide an effective and efficient Human Resource Development service to MET. The challenges of establishing a unit to coordinate the CBNRM programme will require expertise in organization structures, realigning reporting relationships, determining career paths for the new cadre of staff, arranging for training needs, recruitment (in some situations). There will be obviously be need to review training needs, not only for the "new" unit, but also for the whole ministry, in order to obviate the current ad hoc measures; this expertise is lacking within the current personnel unit.

There is an urgent need to upgrade the Personnel unit into a fully-fledged HRD unit to enable the MET to successfully attract and retain highly quailified and motivated staff.

As the Team was completing the Evaluation, MET was preparing a plan for restructuring the DRM. This plan includes the creation of a Community Wildlife Managment Division (WMD).

LIFE IN A REGIONAL CONTEXT

The development of the first Community Based Natural Resources Management activities in the southern African region from 1978 onwards (Operation WINDFALL and CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe) was based upon sound theory and praxis. The experiences and lessons learned through these adaptively managed processes were taken up by other SADC countries and now form the basis of international thinking on the subject. The role of donor agencies, national Universities and NGO's was important in nurturing the initial concepts, and providing critical support to establish working models.

The LIFE project in Namibia has since its inception also added significant value to the regional understanding of CBNRM through rigorous critical analysis and an action research oriented development approach.

Regional CBNRM Issues

Other countries in the region that have formalised their approaches of CBNRM include Zimbabwe(CAMPFIRE), Zambia (ADMARE), and Botswana (Botswana Natural Resources Management Project). Malawi is only now developing its own project to be called Compass, and is not as yet formally in operation, although it does have some lessons to provide. In assessing the current status of LIFE's impact in Namibia, it may be valuable to provide a perspective of major CBNRM trends and issues in the region.

- **Enabling environments:** The governments in the three existing projects have evolved different responses to the initiatives, based upon political ideology, degree of democracy inherent in the system, economic potential of the various sectors in the countries, and level of awareness that has been created about land use options such as the sustainable use of natural resources vis-avis agriculture.

In general Zimbabwe has chosen to retain a high level of decision making within governments reach by only devolving land and resource tenure powers to the District Council level, effectively forcing the communities to work through such frameworks to benefitiate their resources. Legislation and policy reflect the semi-devolved nature of this approach, requiring government agencies such as the Department of National Parks to sanction harvesting quotas of wild animals.

Zambia also reflects a high degree of government control, with the communities who have constituted Game Management Areas, being directly linked to government structures and decision making processes. Community structure that relate to the use and management of wildlife are under the direct influence of government agencies such as the Department of National Park Services, with structures being described in the existing wildlife Act and the proposed new Wildlife Bill.

Although there is a greater degree of autonomy for communities to manage their own wildlife in Botswana, through newly designed legislation, ultimate control of harvesting levels still rests with the Wildlife department.

Namibia's legislation for conservancies is in many ways visionary, in taking the process further than other countries and facilitating a greater degree of community empowerment and control over the management and use of resources.

- **Diversification away from wild animal focus:** Across the region a strong focus exists in CBNRM processes, for the use and beneficiation of charismatic mega-fauna, elephants, lions, buffalo, leopard and some other plains game species. Acknowledgement of the contribution of other natural resources to Gross Domestic Product has not been given, and continues to be a weakness in the CBNRM picture. The high returns on investment from professional hunting provide many communities with immediate benefits, often in the form of social upliftment (schools, clinics, grinding-mills etc.) Whilst other equally beneficial use of natural resources such as basket weaving, food provision and housing material is not entered into the equation.

Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE project and Zambia's ADMARE project have a heavy emphasis on hunting, with a more recent diversification to non-consumptive uses such as ecotourism. No major thrust has been made to change this focus over the short term.

Botswana on the other hand have made a distinct effort to explore the potential of other uses of natural resources in the past few years, and although the results are not conclusive, it has been demonstrated that there are fields of resource use that show as great potential as hunting, if not greater potential if returns per square kilometer are considered ie. Harvesting and processing of Marula fruit.

Namibia has also taken the lead in exploring new options and opportunities, especially with the harvesting of thatching grass and production of curios.

- **Development of capacity to engage in the mainstream economic sectors:** One of the greatest weaknesses of CBNRM in the region is the inability of communities to realise the true value of their local natural resources due to capacity constraints. Although local use of resources may provide benefits in terms of meeting their immediate livelihood needs, often the potential of such use could provide greater benefits in other markets - enabling communities to enhance their livelihoods and use the surplus for other purposes.

The focus on wildlife in Zimbabwe has to some degree concentrated the development of capacity in communities into running committees and influencing decision making processes, with communal approaches to enterprise management ie. Managing concessions for hunting etc. Enterprises that evolve from this approach appear to be of a secondary nature, where people use the benefits to develop shops or provide services.

Zambia's experience, although based upon a narrow pool of project sites that are providing any significant financial benefits, seems to shadow Zimbabwe's, although most of the financial returns are channelled into social services and infrastructure.

There does not appear to be a great deal of spill-over that leads to enterprise development or entrepreneurial activity that is directly related to the large-scale commercial beneficiation of resources.

The fledgling natural resource industries that have been encouraged in Botswana are still in many ways untested, although many show signs of providing significant benefits when compared to other localised land use opportunities. One weakness in many of the approaches appears to be the extent of assistance provided by the BNRMP, in which communities may not have been empowered as fully as possible, where in some cases the project was running the process on behalf of the communities.

LIFE's emphasis upon the development of capacity in communities to engage in mainstream economic processes has led to some significant models that the region is starting to emulate. The development of mechanisms that support the development of localised capacity such as the Mashi Crafts organisation, as well as the Thatching Grass harvesting cooperative, have provided great insights into the potential for such enterprise development elsewhere in the region. Of particular importance has been the experiment with the Caprivi Arts and Crafts Association, where the opportunity was given to the craftspeople in Caprivi to explore business opportunities within their own expertise, whilst having access to support on a demand basis. Despite the many problems encountered, the CBNRM in the region is richer for the experience.